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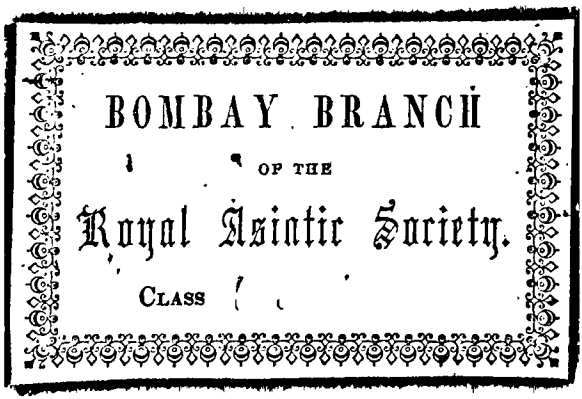

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THE TROUBLES OF OUR CATHOLIC FOREFATHERS

RELATED BY THEMSELVES

Third Series.

EDITED BY

JOHN MORRIS,

Priest of the Society of Jesus.

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PREFACE.

For the documents contained in the present volume I am indebted to the kindness of the Very Reverend Canon Northcote, President of St. Mary's College, Oscott, the Reverend Father Purbrick, Rector of Stonyhurst, the Reverend Mother of St. Mary's Convent, York, and of William Middelton, Esq., of Myddelton Lodge. I am sincerely grateful for the patience with which they have intrusted their treasures to my keeping, sometimes for many months together.

My special thanks are also due to Joseph Wilkinson, Esq., Town Clerk of York, and to John Holtby, Esq., Clerk of the Peace, for the great courtesy and willing readiness with which they gave me access to the records in their official custody; and I am under great obligation to the Reverend Canon Raine, not only for my introduction to the noble archives of York Minster, but also for his valuable personal assistance.

The present volume is more like the first than the second of this series. It has not the advantage of being a consecutive personal narrative, like the Life of Father Weston; but this volume has a

unity which the first did not possess, for it relates all but exclusively to one time and one place. York is its centre, and almost entirely its scene; and its time is confined to the twenty years during which Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, was Lord President of the North.

This volume contains harder words than its predecessors. I am sorry that it should be so. I have left out a considerable number of pages of mere declamation, and I should have been glad not to have had any vehement expressions to print. The "Yorkshire Recusant" and good Mr. John Mush are not sparing in strong words. It is, for example, a little too bad of Mr. Mush to compare "parson Wiggington," who spoke openly and bravely in Margaret Clitherow's behalf, to Balaam's ass. But we, who live without their trials, can well afford to be patient with the indignation of these honest Yorkshiremen, which certainly was not unprovoked. At all events, if I had shrunk from producing this warmth of language, I should have failed in my attempt to put before the reader the materials for an accurate idea of those times.

The drawback of occasional repetition might, of course, have been saved by omissions, but there is no harm in hearing the same story told by different persons. This is not a consecutive history of the northern persecution, but an endeavour to let the reader judge for himself from the evidence of contemporary witnesses. We find it very difficult to recognize the fact that a state of things, so different from our own, existed in our own country,

or that such unrelenting severity was the means by which religious conformity was attained in England. It is necessary that the truth should be told, because it is the truth; and it is better for us all that we should know what the facts really were. A critic of a former volume complained that I am engaged in the endeavour to stir up old animosities. I am not so foolish, for I am quite aware who would be the sufferers if the old feelings were revived. Neither is it necessary for me by these proofs to refute the now exploded tradition that, while blood was freely shed for religious causes in Queen Mary's reign, Queen Elizabeth scrupulously respected the rights of conscience. But I print these narratives because it would be cruelly ungrateful if we Catholics permit these brave souls to remain unhonoured and forgotten, who bore the brunt of an awful persecution for the faith that we value above our lives; and, I will add because the lesson is never misplaced, that when conscience is at stake, bending to the storm is simply fatal. Thousands in those times consented to go to the Protestant church, when they believed it to be a sin to do so,—yielding as they then thought for a while, till the storm should be overpast. In the vast majority of instances, they and their children were lost to the faith. This being so, all the more honour is due to those who stood steadfast, and have left us an admirable example of courage and constancy.

The prisons of York, around which the narratives of this volume centre, differed from the prisons of the rest of England only in this, that the number

of Catholic prisoners confined there was greater than elsewhere. The prisons themselves were of much the same character all over England. Of those in the north of England, I will quote the words of one to whom I have already expressed my obligations.[1] He will pardon me, I am sure, for the remark that his knowledge of the "dungeons of the Inquisition" is more vague than that which his great antiquarian researches have given him of the ancient prisons of England. "It is impossible," he says, "to speak in terms of too strong reprobation of the state of the northern prisons in the seventeenth century, and of the conduct of their keepers. They were dens of iniquity and horror, in which men and women herded together indiscriminately. The dungeons of the Inquisition themselves were scarcely worse. Some of them had no light and no ventilation; several were partly under water whenever there was a flood. The number of prisoners who died in gaol during this century is positively startling. And how could they live in such places, where they were treated worse than savages themselves? The ordinary conveniences and necessaries of life were denied to them. They were at the mercy of the gaolers for their food and for everything they possessed. They had the meanest fare at the most exorbitant price. If they resisted, there were irons and screws that compelled them to be silent.

[1] Canon Raine's Preface to *Depositions from the Castle of York, relating to offences committed in the Northern Counties in the Seventeenth Century.* Edited for the Surtees Society in 1861.

There was also the greatest inequality and injustice in the treatment of the prisoners. Those that had money had many indulgences. They were allowed to go to places of amusement without the walls of the gaol, and some were even permitted to lodge beyond the precincts, subjected only to some trifling surveillance. Peter prison in York, and the hold in Ousebridge, were a disgrace to any civilized country. The cells in the latter place would almost have rivalled the notorious Black Hole. Air, light, and ventilation were absent, and the waters of the river rushed in when they were above their usual level."

In 1596 one of the Sheriffs whose business it usually was to commit others to the Kidcotes, was himself committed for insulting the Lord Mayor. In a petition to the Council of the North, he described the Lord Mayor's Kidcote, in which he was confined, to be a "noisome or unwholesome prison, not convenient, moist, and evil air."[1] What would he have said if his place of confinement had been that to which the Catholics were so often doomed, the "low prison," which was but little above the mud of a tidal river?

The facts of the persecution will soon be well known, and it is a great satisfaction to learn that publications on the subject may be expected from other and far more competent hands than mine. The knowledge of those facts cannot fail to arouse a deep religious interest in the hearts of all Catholics, and the desire will grow daily stronger,

[1] Housebooks of the City of York, n. 31, fol. 197 *b*.

and the prayers more fervent, that the Holy See may be pleased to pronounce its judgment on the cause of those who gave their lives for the faith. Meanwhile, in accordance with the discipline of the Church, it is my duty to submit all that is here published to the decisions of Supreme Authority, and to protest that no word here used is intended as an anticipation of the decrees of the Church, and that the statements here made rest only on the individual testimonies of the writers.

J. M.

St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph,
November 30, 1876.

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I.

AN ANCIENT EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK.

AN ANCIENT EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK.

FATHER CHRISTOPHER GRENE, or as he sometimes Italianized his name Christoforo Grino, was the English penitentiary, first at the Holy House of Loretto, and then at St. Peter's at Rome.[1] During the latter portion of his life, which was prolonged for five years after he ceased to be Penitentiary at St. Peter's, he lived at the English College at Rome, and there died in 1697. He was a great lover of the English Martyrs, and he has done more than any other man to save the records of their sufferings from perishing, and to transmit to us materials for the history of the times of persecution in England.

A very large number of documents passed through Father Grene's hands, and those that he saw and used may be recognized in two ways. First, it is safe to say that there is not one of them on which he has not left an endorsement of some sort in his bold, clear, unmistakeable handwriting. By this he has spared his successors many doubts and much labour, for thanks to his notes we can at once see what was known of the papers at the end of the seventeenth century. But besides this service, we have to thank him for the order in which he placed them, and better still, for the way in which he freely transcribed at least the most interesting portions of the documents before him, and

[1] "P. Christophorus Grinus rediit Lauretum die 11 Novemb. 1682 et ibi fuit Pœnitentiarius usq. ad 24 Octob. 1686 quando discessit Romam versus ad Pœnitentiariam Vaticanam." This note in his own handwriting is at the top of a page which is the only surviving portion of a list of the Loretto Penitentiaries drawn up by him. His list of the Vatican Penitentiaries contains the following mention of him. "P. Christophorus Grinus ex Pœnitentiaria Lauretana, ubi duodecim annis vixerat, huc advenit primo Novemb. 1686, mansit usque ad mensem Julii 1692." Though these lists were amongst the Stonyhurst papers to which Dr. Oliver had access, he does not seem to have used them in his Biographies of the English Jesuits.

made the most careful and repeated references to the documents themselves. We are thus not left without information even of the papers that have not come down to us.

These collections he distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, and the precious volumes were placed, he tells us, "in a cubbard or *armario*," at the English College in Rome, of which he says, "it all belongeth to our province" of the Society of Jesus. The earliest notes made by him were afterwards marked by him with the letter "N" in four parts, and these are now bound in two volumes and form part of the Stonyhurst collection of manuscripts. When he began to write these notes, two volumes only seem to have been made and marked.

Of the first of these he says, "*Varia de persecutione in Anglia et martyribus*, in folio, or Collections as it seemes made by Father Creswel signed A in folio." As far as is known this volume is broken up or lost. We are able to identify a considerable portion of its contents, for in the volume which contains the chief portion of his transcripts, marked "M," he refers to a large number of the articles it contained. There are no less than thirty-eight different references to "A" in "M," and some of them very tantalizing; as for instance "f. 88. The martyrdom of Mr. Scott and Mr. Beesley, set down by one present." "f. 148 usque ad 156. Additions and corrections for a new print of the *Concertation*, written by one of Douay Seminary (in May 1591), and very well." "f. 166. MM. at York from 1582 to 1590." "f. 172. Relations of Mr. George Stoker and Mr. Heath concerning martyrs." That the volume is not altogether lost but broken up and scattered seems to be indicated by the presence, in the Stonyhurst collection of manuscripts called "Angl. A.," of an original letter by Father Henry Walpole, which in Father Grene's time formed part of Father Cresswell's volume "A."

The other volume that apparently existed prior to the commencement of Father Grene's, he thus describes: "A number of papers, letters, &c. of the Persecution, &c. in folio, bound up together and signed B." This volume is in the Cardinal's Archives, and fortunately it is not necessary to describe it in any way, as we may hope before long to see its valuable contents in print, for the Fathers of the Brompton Oratory have

promised to follow up the publication of the Douay Diary by a volume of documents respecting the martyrs, preserved in the Metropolitan Archives.

The volume "C" was made up by Father Grene, whilst he was making the notes now called "N." In his annotation on Richard Blundell, he speaks of the account of his death as "covered w^th^ redd paper in folio." It forms a part of the volume called "C." And under the name of Thomas Strange he mentions the same paper twice, once as *in fasciculo*, and again, in a later note, as in "C."

This interesting volume contained as its first two articles, the autograph narrative of the Gunpowder Plot by Father John Gerard, and the autograph translation of the same into Italian by Father Oswald Tesimond. At the suppression of the Society in 1773 the volume was broken up, and the whole of Father Gerard's narrative was folded up into the shape of letters, probably by Father Thorpe, by whom doubtless it was ultimately transmitted to Stonyhurst. Father Tesimond's translation was sent to Canon Tierney by Dr. Lingard, who received it from Dr. Gradwell. It has been given to Stonyhurst by the Bishop of Southwark, owing to whose goodness, after separation from the companion documents for exactly a century, it has been replaced in the volume the sequence of which was indicated by the paging in Father Grene's handwriting. The other papers belonging to the volume were found in loose bundles, and the volume is now at Stonyhurst, complete with the exception of only four leaves.

In "M" the only quotation from "D" is from Father John Gerard's autobiography. It would appear that the volume once contained other documents, for Father Grene's mention of it in "N" is "Miscell. D. in 4to transcripta ex variis autographis." The copy of Father Gerard's autobiography at Stonyhurst is in 4to, a transcript; but no other portion of "D" is known to exist, or probably could now be identified.

The volume "E" is the property of St. Mary's College, Oscott, and by the kind permission of Canon Northcote its most interesting portions form the first part of the present series. How the volume came to Oscott is not known, though it may be con-

jectured that it formed a part of the legacy of papers left to the College by Dr. Kirk of Lichfield. It has narrowly escaped destruction in comparatively recent times, for it had been sent to Mr. Toovey of Piccadilly to be bound, when the shop took fire, and the manuscript suffered slightly from scorching and more seriously from water. The Editor owes the copy which has been sent to press to the intelligent and persevering industry of some religious of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin in St. Mary's Convent, York, without whose laborious aid the deciphering and transcription would have taken him too long a time to be practicable.

Of "F" it is not necessary here to speak, as we are informed by the Reverend Joseph Stevenson that the volume still exists in the Archives of the English College at Rome. "G" unhappily has been lost. A considerable portion of its contents was in Spanish. This volume also may have been broken up, for it contained the "*Opus imperfectum de vita Campiani*," by Father Persons, the original of which is now in the Stonyhurst collection, Angl. A. vol. ii. n. 14. The volume contained an article which it is a pity we have lost, "*De editione Concertationis Anglicana, opus imperfectum Personii.*"

"P" is at Stonyhurst, its four parts bound in two large quarto volumes. Father Grene sometimes quotes two of its parts as "my Persons" and "my Garnet." These are his transcripts, and though in some cases the originals have survived, there are references to others which show us some part of what we have lost, and extracts which save some portion for us from the wreck.

Of "M" and "N" it has been already said that the surviving portions are at Stonyhurst. "M" was once in three parts, of which two have perished. Of the value of the surviving part it is impossible to speak too highly. Without it we should have been in ignorance of most of that which has been here said of this invaluable collection of documents.

It will have been noticed that the volumes marked by the letters of the alphabet by Father Grene are now singularly scattered. A small collection, which formed no part of one of these volumes, but remained up to the suppression of the Society

as a *fasciculus*, has wandered further than any. Under the name of Francis Slingsby, Father Grene in "N" notes "*Lege fasciculum scripturarum de ipsius morte et virtutibus in Archivio.*" It is now in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, wretchedly bound, the letters of which it consists placed within one another, and lettered "Correspondence Jésuitique." The late Mr. Richard Simpson made much use of it in the book that he published on Lady Falkland.

The persecution in Yorkshire was so heavy, and the details are so interesting and so little known, that it has appeared desirable to give a prominent place in this, the third series of the *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, to various narratives having York for their centre. The first, however, by no means exclusively relates to Yorkshire, though perhaps the larger portion belongs to the North of England. The date of the last additions to the compilation is early in 1592, as the martyrdom of William Patenson, who suffered Jan. 22 in that year, is spoken of as a "late execution." "An Ancient Editor's Note Book" is a title given to the paper by its modern Editor, to whom it seems to be a compilation made in preparation for a book in character like to Father Bridgwater's *Concertatio*. It has been thought better to give it in its original roughness rather than by any polishing to imperil its raciness. The ancient order of the paragraphs and the headings of the chapters have been preserved, though the arrangement is far from perfect. The book was evidently intended for publication in Latin, from which language the titles of the chapters have been translated.

AN ANCIENT EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK.

From the original manuscript at St. Mary's College, Oscott.

CHAPTER I.

UNJUST USE OF THE LAWS.

A PRISONER in Chester, the space of twenty-seven years, had all his living expended, having long before made a lease for his two daughters' preferment: this was found fraudulent, and the same granted in lease from her Majesty to a promoter.

The same man's wife imprisoned for not acknowledging where she was purified, and where her children were christened; the Chancellor in open court said she would be accounted a harlot and her children bastards.

Mr. Wolsley, Maxfield,[1] Thornbery, and others condemned to death at Stafford, 1587, because Mr. Sutton,[2] a priest, and they were together in a chamber and the door shut; but [they were] not executed. [Men of menial occupation not permitted to work by others of the same art because recusants, and if by chance sometimes they get work they are denied payment and no remedy in that behalf. *Erased.*]

One[3] George Ilsley, nephew unto L. Collier, an old priest, having conveyed unto him from his uncle absolutely

[1] Mr. Maxfield was probably the father of Thomas Maxfield, priest and martyr, who Dodd (vol. ii. p. 378) states to have been "born at Chesterton Hall, near Newcastle in Staffordshire, while his father and mother were both prisoners for recusancy the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, his father dying under sentence of death."

[2] Robert Sutton was martyred at Stafford, July 27, 1587.

[3] "Ex propria sententia." *Margin.*

a little temporal living which he enjoyed, Topliff and Thornes entered upon the same living, took away all his goods, committed the man to prison, pretending the cause to be for that he would not tell where his uncle was (notwithstanding that this George was never Catholic), and so kept him in prison close two years. After his uncle taken, imprisoned, and there dead, they dismissed the man to his liberty but not to his living before; suit made to all the Council, and certificate brought from the justices of the country for his conformity, but not prevailing.

John Saunders, a poor man, coming to York with his horse into an inn, whither he had brought certain provision for the prisoners, the officers came to his host to know what guest he had in his house. The poor man supposing danger got him away. They, finding his horse without a master, took him away. They were told who was owner and that he was gone abroad about business, but that would not serve. Afterwards one from them made him believe for 14*s.* he should have his horse again; but the money delivered, he could never get either horse or money.

Two maidens, one put in Little Ease at York, the other in place removed from the city, where long before none had inhabited, full of toads and serpents, kept there eleven weeks with an halfpenny a day bread and water, because they would not confess they had taken away the heads of the martyrs, being thereof accused by a boy of eight years old, first whipped and ill-used, a prisoner's son.[1] . . .

A gentleman, his wife, and another were indicted for hearing of Mass in Staffordshire, anno 1579, upon the accusation of their servant. Among other untruths, she

[1] Two paragraphs are here omitted, one relating to Mrs. Anne Tesh, and the other to Robert Bickerdike, both of which are given in the "Yorkshire Recusant's Relation."

deposed upon her oath that in the chamber where the Mass was said, she saw an altar-stone. The gentleman showed forth a stone of alabaster with two coats of arms engraved on it, and said this was the stone she meant. "No," said she, "the stone that I did see had on it the picture of a man, body, head, arms and legs and all." The gentleman prayed the justices and judges judgment of her evidence, proving further how lewd she was, both of her hands and body, and how she had been procured thither by a minister and some other his enemies. This notwithstanding, her evidence was allowed good, without any other witness, and they found guilty, condemned, and imprisoned six months.

The Bishop of Chester [1] had two pursuivants, one dwelling in Lancashire, the other, named Gelson, in Chester. When he meant to send for any recusant, he used to send the pursuivant of the contrary shire, thereby charging the prisoner with extraordinary fees: as, if he were of Lancashire, then according to the rate of the pursuivant's house in Chester 8*d.* a mile, *et sic e contrario.*

At the arraignment of the E[arl] of A[rundel], my L[ord] T[reasurer] said her Majesty would have it so, and so was it convenient in respect of the time.

A poor man was presented at Durham because he had his shirt marked with a cross, and was amerced and enforced to pay 2*s.* for the same.

[1] William Chaderton, made Bishop of Chester November 9, 1579, translated to Lincoln in 1595.

CHAPTER II.

FRAUDS THAT LEGAL PENALTIES MAY BE INCURRED.

MRS. ANNE KILLINGALE,[1] in Durham, having been hardly imprisoned and used by the bishop,[2] her husband a schismatic not permitted to come unto her, she was at length offered before my lord of Hunsdon and the bishop the oath of supremacy; which she refusing to take, the bishop said she took from her Majesty her lawful power. "No," saith she, "I give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's." "Then," say they, "you call the Queen an infidel, for so was Cæsar." She answered, "No;" and perceiving they intended to take her life from her by these questions, she refused to answer any further unto them. Whereupon returned again to prison, they sent to the same place a false brother under pretence of being a Catholic, who there made outward show of great piety purposely to creep into some familiarity with her, and so to have taken her at some advantage, whereby they might have taken her life from her; but she finding their drift so behaved herself as it not prevailed.

Divers poor men in Staffordshire, refusing to receive the Communion, were convented to appear before Benton,[3]

[1] Anne the wife of Henry Killingale of Sadbery, co. Durham, Esq. This gentleman had been denounced as a recusant by his brother Thomas, for having been married and having had his child baptized by a Catholic priest. He conformed, but his wife was very steadfast. The date of her answers to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners here mentioned was Michaelmas 1582. She was then prisoner in the bishop's gaol at Bishop Auckland, where every day for six weeks she was compelled to hear the Protestant service, which was read in her cell. Thence she was sent to the gaol at Sadbery, an old ruinous building, where exposed to the weather and destitute of the necessaries of life she bore a child, whom she had the greatest difficulty in rearing. From Sadbery she was sent to Durham gaol, and lastly to York Castle.

[2] Richard Barnes was translated from Carlisle to Durham in 1577, and died August 24, 1587.

[3] Thomas Bentham died February 21, 1578.

then Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. After some conference he told them they must enter into band [bond] of a great sum to appear the next court, and caused his clerk to put into the band cunningly that they should then further abide his order. Some of the men, not thinking any fraud, sealed those bands. He thereupon the next court told them the danger of their band, ordering them not only to receive but to publish such recantations as he had penned, which for fear of their bands the poor men did. The other that espied his drift and refused to seal those bands, he committed to prison, where soon after they became good Catholics. The recantation so spiteful as the Protestants misliked it.

CHAPTER III.

BENEFIT OF THE LAWS REFUSED.

ONE RATCLIFFE, in Yorkshire, having spoiled many poor Catholics of all whatsoever they possessed without all law and order, the poor men drew a supplication, and sought for ordinary relief in that behalf at the Council's and Justices' hands. There the man that delivered the supplication was committed to prison and hardly used, all the others sharply reprehended that they durst exhibit any such petition, and so no redress. My Lord of Huntingdon, President there, said openly that no Papist in England should have that right at his hands in any matter which law would give; and to prove that he meant no less, soon after Mr. Leonard Babthorpe,[1] a counsellor, and Mr. Lander, an attorney, for pleading law in their Catholic wives' behalf were first both by him committed to prison, then grievous fines set upon their heads, which

[1] Leonard, second son of Sir William Babthorpe and Agnes Palmes, married Jane daughter of William Redman of Twisleton, Lancashire.

they were enforced to pay, deprived them from all further practice to their undoings, and lastly for their further disgrace set [one of them *erased*] upon the pillory.

Upon the law made for payment of 20*l.* a month if one come not to church or oratory of theirs, one shall be convicted by oath of the jurors only, which do say they know that such a one cometh not to church, whereas they cannot know it to be true, many times not knowing the man, and so many times incurring wilful perjury. And if a Catholic upon this or any other more sufficient matter seek to reverse this judgment by writ of error or otherwise, it is never allowed him.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE LAWS ARE CARRIED OUT.

A VISITOR of my Lord of York's coming to Namptwich, fell in liking of three several supposed widows, saying he would have one and so made choice of and married one that was before married to one Mr. Butler of Bucey, and at her request, for considerations as he said, he granted his lordship's free pardon for criminal causes.

One Dubberly, a minister, with other pursuivants about the forest of Deane in Gloucestershire, brought by the parson of the town to a Catholic house, finding none at home but a poor, lame, blind woodman, the doctor and pursuivants beat at the doors barred against them, and while this battery continued the said minister found a weak window which he brake, and so crept into the house and opened the door to his companions, who ransacked every part of the house, at last found 26*s.* 8*d.* in a chest of the poor woman's, which was her brother's money, a poor serving-man. This they took, and away they went out of hand, as having found that

they sought for; and the serving [man was] ever without remedy, notwithstanding that he sought all means, especially to the parson of the town, a d[octor] of divinity and the Queen's chaplain, that set them on work and was with them; unto whom bringing a w[orshipful] man's letters from the Court, he answered the pursuivants were gone that had the money, and it was not reason that he should now pay it of his own purse. Marry in respect of his master and his other worshipful friend that had written him the letter, he licenced the serving man to come to his house at any time, promising that he would vouchsafe to admit him to his presence and to hear him in any suits he had to him. And so with a cup of beer and a waft with his velvet bonnet dismissed him.

The younger sons of justices and the under-sheriffs are commonly assistant to pursuivants and such fellows duly in hope of part of the prey. They [are] ever accustomed where they find no money to take and drive away kine, cattle, and such like.

Henry Dingley the younger, some time a Catholic, now an apostata or atheist, outlawed, being bankrupt and in every man's debt, never daring to show his face but when he heareth of any pursuivants in the country, and then armed with sword and dagger, a pistol by his side, and a javelin in his hand, he goeth or rideth unto them, and then protected by these his prince's affairs, he forbeareth not to trouble his own father and mother, his sister, and friends, and all other Catholics without any further authority, using them in most strange manner, pinioning their hands, binding their legs under their horse's belly, and so carrying them to the gaol.

One Badam, an old worn minister of Gloucestershire, deprived of all living by the Superintendent of Hereford[1]

[1] John Scory, made Bishop of Rochester and of Chichester by Edward VI. and by Queen Elizabeth placed at Hereford, where he died June 26, 1585.

for his lewd conversation, and among the rest for making of ministers for money, without his lordship's knowledge or condescension (a thing peculiar only and commonly practised by his lordship) is now become a follower of the pursuivants, assisting them in all their actions, naming himself Mr. Berrington, a justice of that county, and so plays his part not unlike to pursuivants and as their agent.

When men and their wives are imprisoned by such companions, first spoiled by them, then come other malicious neighbours and take what they have left, and being by the honester sort reprehended, they answer that the owners care not for the world, nor anything in the same, and therefore as well they as others may take what they can.

William Ratcliffe, a man infamous for his theft, robberies, and other his enormous crimes, having gotten a commission from some Justices of Peace in Yorkshire to take the benefit of an old statute of 12*d.* forfeiture for every Sunday they are absent from church, did under this pretence rob and spoil all the Catholics of the inferior sort of all manner [of] moveables, yea, their very ordinary provision, bread, meat, drink, and other necessaries. The same man being accused before the justices for stealing of sheep, the theft manifest, and the accuser ready to prosecute law against him, he was forbidden to follow the same, for that the malefactor was a man that had very well deserved for his good service in those parts against Catholics, and so was dismissed without further trouble. Afterwards, for like felonies, hardly pursued by hue and cry, he was driven to fly the country and leave his commission.[1]

Thornes, practising to apprehend Mr. Richard Fitzherbert,[2] used this policy. To Norbury, where he knew

[1] The following memorandum occurs here in the manuscript: "Norton, Younge, Topcliffe, Cuffe, Fitzherbert, Thornes."

[2] Richard, of Hartsmere, co. Stafford, was the fifth son of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert of Norbury.

this gentleman lay, came three lame supposed beggars, one man, two women, among divers others that there had alms, and when all were served as accustomed, these three continued still crying and craving more alms, as seeming more needy. The good gentleman going down himself at their pitiful cry to give them some money, the man beggar arrested him, laying hands on him to carry him to an officer, and threw the gentleman down. With this noise his friends within came out to rescue him. The beggar seeing that, having a dagg[1] ready charged at his girdle, offered to discharge it at Mr. Fitzherbert's breast, but it went not off. Thereupon the beggar, beaten, let fall his dagg and went a little way off, where Thornes expected his return with hope of prey. The dagg then taken up by one of that house, went off itself without hurting anybody, albeit there were many present.

CHAPTER V.

VEXATIONS OF THOSE AT LIBERTY.

ALL houses are subject to searches and Catholics to apprehension. Upon Monday in Easter week, the house of Mr. Heathe at Cumberford searched by Thornes and Cawdwell, and Mr. Harrison, a priest, there apprehended. They so cruelly used Mrs. Heathe at that time, tossing and tumbling her, that she, thereby frighted, died the Friday following.

[Richard Fitzherbert, George Cooke, William Poker, John Coher, Timothy Browne, dispossessed of their houses and goods by Thornes, and they imprisoned. *Erased.*]

John Eldersha of Andelen, of the age of ninety years or thereabout, by officers apprehended. They thought to have carried him to Chester gaol. On the way the old man, by reason of a fall and other natural

[1] Dag, a hand-gun, a pistol. *Johnson.*

infirmities, unable to go forward, the officers left him in an ale-house, advertised the bishop of his estate, and so were dismissed. The old man, something recovered, returned again to his own house, which as soon as the commissioners understood, they sent warrant to the sheriff to bring the old man and his son Richard before them, *quocumque modo*. The sheriff, coming to his son's house, apprehended him (his wife before great with child, with that fear falling in labour and in great danger), and so went to the old man's house, where the doors being shut, they essayed to break them with a smith's great sledge. In the meanwhile they within conveyed the old man into a secret place, so that the sheriff entering and searching could not find him, albeit his bed was then warm, the old man, through infirmity ever bedridden: so that the sheriff took with him his son, much discontented that he could not find the old man, who, by cold taken at that being in the hole, was never after able to go or stand, and soon after died.

All Catholics despoiled of their armour by the Council's commandment.

Many gentlemen give very large sums by the way of composition to avoid the seizure of their lands.

Pursuivants coming to the house of Ralph Macclesfield, for that his man, Michael Wright, did not presently open the door at their commandment, they called him into the Star Chamber before the Lords, to his master his great charge. And the next assize, the said Ralph, being eighty years old, was sent for to Stafford, whom, unable to ride or go so far through impotency, they carried perforce, being a gentleman, in a cart.

Pursuivants searching the house of Hugh Erdeswicke in his absence, he coming in the mangling, finding his chests all broken open and his evidences dispersed, one of them arrested him and called him traitor, whereto being moved, bestowed some blows upon him, for which he

was soon after deeply fined and endured long imprisonment.

Hodgkinson, searching and rifling the house of Dorothy Heveringham, violently took from one of her daughters' neck a crucifix of gold, which he would by no means restore until he had five marks given him by her mother, which was accounted the value.

William Stapleton's house searched; himself apprehended and sent to London, there imprisoned, a lease of his living begged by Cuffe, he was enforced to take a lease of his own living at Cuffe's hands, having otherwise no remedy at all.

Pursuivants come from London, from York, from bishops, from noblemen, besides justices, sheriffs, justices' ministers, &c.; if all daytimes will not serve, nights must. Most upon the most festival days, when, as they think, Catholics will for charity to themselves have priests, they charitably come to apprehend them. If they have not what they will, they take the man, wife, children and servants all to prison. No help; yea, they are praised for it. Justices and they beset two gentle houses in the night, raising the one and setting watch ready at the other, to rush in as soon as the doors should be opened in the morning.

Robert Jebbe, a farmer, poor yet religious, that he might sometime the more securely entertain priests, his own house being inconvenient, he built in his fields among many bushes a little house seven foot broad, ten foot long, and eight foot high, where he did securely converse with them a long time. At length, his own house searched and himself to go to prison, he acquainted a kinsman of his with his secret house, who soon after betrayed the place to the Lord Evers,[1] who presently beset the same, and had like to have taken there a priest, but that by chance he was gone a little before.

[1] Ralph, third Lord Eure, Vice-president of the North.

CHAPTER VI.

PRETENDED PURSUIVANTS.

WILLIAM NEWNHAM, *alias* Claxton, condemned at Nottingham for a robbery committed by him on the highway, brake from his keeper, the gaoler there, took away with him the daughter of one Griffith Aparraye, minister, and now hath gotten a counterfeit pursuivant's scutcheon and warrant, and so under that pretence robbeth and spoileth as others of like quality.

One Reynold in Yorkshire, 1588, who, seeing the magistrates to take pleasure in the misery and ruin of Catholics, counterfeited a warrant for himself, nothing doubting of their confirmation. Presently he entered and searched many Catholic houses, never ceasing to search where he had begun until he had found either a prey or had gotten a bribe. Amongst divers others he entered the house of one Ledam on the sudden, and there by chance finding one Richard Bowes, a priest, and thinking that a good opportunity, he cast out the woman and all her children out of doors and took the spoil of all that ever she had of any value or moment, and so carried the priest to prison. Persevering in this course, he came to a place called Hutton, the ancient house of one Mr. Christopher Coniers, where one seeing him disordering of the hay and casting it into the wet, took a staff and beat him, and had killed him with a thrust in the breast, had he not had a bag of money in the belly of his doublet, which, aye, he had before gotten by the spoil of Catholics. Upon this, terming them traitors, and saying he would complain to the President, he departed. But doubting his authority might be called in question, he put up the blows, and since hath surceased from further proceeding.

One Price, a serjeant-at-arms, and Vaughan, by the

name of Dr. Goloeke, in a doctor's habit, with their train and company suitable, having counterfeited a commission, went to most known Catholic houses in England searching, where binding whom they list to appear before the Council, ransacking and rifling all the houses they came in, unless largely bribed, carrying many as prisoners up and down with them, and at length dismissing them for money, and delivering other their bands again upon composition of great sums paid in fine. Upon complaint of some the matter so manifest, they were convened before the Council for the fact. Price and Vaughan were committed to prison, adjudged to the pillory, and he degraded from his office.

CHAPTER VII.

REPUTATION OF CATHOLICS BLACKENED.

IT is ordinary with them to call Catholics traitors, and to proceed against them in their judgments as in cases of treason, notwithstanding that the cause be directly conscience. This general in all judgments.

At York assizes the Catholics were brought to the bar, first two Catholics and then two thieves, and so two of the one and two of the other. At the bar the keeper placed the Catholics first, for which the bishop sharply rebuked him, willing him to put them in the worst place, accustomed for notorious malefactors, where being put, they were driven to stand from one of the clock afternoon till eight at night, not permitted to ease or rest themselves all that while.

In Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the Bishopric from St. Matthew's day[1] in September, 1586, until Christmas, the persecution was so great that the Council then sent their precepts to all justices and their

[1] The manuscript says "St. Matthias," but that feast is February 24, and St. Matthew's September 21.

adherents, that with numbers of armed men they should go unto, find out, and search all the houses possessed by any Catholic, which was in like manner performed with such terror and tumult as if some cruel war or great danger had been like to have happened, to the ruin of the whole commonwealth.

Ratcliffe accused one Fotherlay and his son for speaking malicious words against one of the Council. Seeing one John Hanckrick walking by the sea-side with another, gave presently information that he saw him walking and talking with a Spaniard. One William Typlady, willing him to desist from these his proceedings, he went about to bring him within the compass of the statute of persuasion. The said Ratcliffe coming into the house of one widow Gibson, finding there a red cross, demanding where she had it, and she answering of one good wife Hobb, her neighbour, he preferred an indictment against them both, calling the same the Pope's Bull, and a certain token sent to all the Catholics, by the which they might be known and so save themselves harmless when the Spaniards should invade England.

Certain houses in London accidentally by negligence of servants set on fire and burnt, they gave out this was done by Catholics.

Certain mad men or counterfeits, now known Puritans, crying out in London streets and exclaiming against the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, terming them little better than traitors, and so like to have been authors of sedition: some by and by gave out that this was a device of the Papists.

If any man will but yield to go to Church all treasons are remitted.

They print seditious pamphlets, setting titles and tables on their gibbets at their executions.

A plumber in Staffordshire, by name Francis Oliver, from a heretic converted to a Catholic, because in mending

of a church he did not cease knocking while the service was saying, was apprehended and brought before the bishop. The poor man unlearned, having by chance read *Seaton's Logic*,[1] to the interrogatories of the bishop and his chaplain made such syllogistical answers that they thought him a great clerk, and so brought him into their open court, where, to disgrace him, the bishop said he was a shameful usurer. "I was one indeed," said he, "when I followed your religion; but now I have made restitution and do detest it. That was the fruit of your religion, but this reformation of this which I now profess."

CHAPTER VIII.

GOODS OF CATHOLICS DESPOILED.

A FORFEITURE of 20*l.* a month for not coming to church. Thirteen months made in the year: those that are not able to pay the whole to forfeit two parts of the profits of their land, all leases, chattels, and goods.

All gentlemen of worth pay the whole penalty. Others in the seizure of the two parts miserably used, as by having their land unequally divided, and on those two parts all manner of wastes to be committed, especially in cutting down their woods at unseasonable times, whereby they cannot grow again, and suffering their ancient houses and fair building to go to ruin and decay.

Besides this, in Yorkshire the Council granted to one Radcliffe, before convicted of felony, a commission to levy among the poorer sort the old forfeiture of 12*d.* for every Sunday; and this by him without order of law was put in execution, and for default of present payment he spoiled thirty poor men and women of all their cattle, household stuff, apparel, yea, necessary provision, and sold the same

[1] This must have been a translation of the *Dialectica Joannis Setoni Cantabrigiensis*, of which several editions appeared between 1563 and 1577.

before their faces, and they without remedy; for one Douthwhat of Tussege, one of those so spoiled, for that his wife was supposed a recusant, complaining to the Lord Evers and other justices, showing that his wife, besides that she was then in childbed, was not able by extremity of sickness to go to Church, and this averred by writing under all or most of his neighbours' hands; his complaint yet was not accounted of, neither any restitution made.

A gentleman in Gloucestershire of good account, but a younger brother, and his living consisting most of leases, to the end they might make him forfeit all, secretly indicted him, and thereupon outlawed him.

Another gentleman there of like account, a prisoner, hath all his living and goods taken away, so that both himself and many his little children live now only of such a poor pension as he that begged his living will allow.

Thornes, in Staffordshire, hath driven away hundreds of cattle from Catholics at a time, even all that many householders had, and afterwards turned them out of their houses and kept possession against them, namely, Knolles, widow Wade, George Cooke, William Poker, John Coher, Timothy Browne, Mr. Richard Fitzherbert, and many others.

A proviso is made in every lease granted of any recusant's living, that neither the recusant himself that ow[n]eth it, neither any other recusant, shall by any means have any commodity thereby, nor take the same to farm of the grantee.

The livings of recusants are sometimes begged of [*i.e.* by] three or four several men, and grants made to all of them. If he or any their friends for them think good to deal for the lease, they must compound with them all, notwithstanding that only the first grant be good as against the Queen, but all allowed current against Catholics. This experienced in Mr. Henry Carey's case and divers others.

Known spies and catchpolls are the only means to

procure liberty for Catholic prisoners, and this they do for priests or laymen upon an agreement for some certain sum. Their suits in these cases are many times easily obtained, in recompense of their services in that behalf.

Pursuivants in their searches many times, finding either jewels, plate, or money, they take it away, and the party without remedy for restitution; those in authority willing to wink at such matters, thereby to satisfy them of their proceedings in that behalf.

One Pepper, under the pretence of a commission granted under seven of the Council's hands to search any man's house for suspect persons, recusants, and this word "Catholics" named also in the same, to open and break chests, coffers, desks, &c., hath searched in Yorkshire many houses, and where he findeth anything forbidden he compoundeth with them for a sum of money. Amongst others he searched the house of an apostata married priest in Northallerton, and finding something that of old belonged to the Church, compounded with him for twenty marks and a gelding.

Another in that country hath a commission to apprehend six Catholics, and seize upon their goods for his preferment.

At the going of Leicester into Flanders all Catholics of account were taxed, some 100*l.*, some 50*l.*, and some 25*l.*, to furnish great horses for that good service, and the most enforced to pay it.

When Elmer[1] came to be first Bishop of London, the only forfeiture being then 12*d.* for every Sunday, he devised a new law spiritual in his consistory, that Catholics should be enjoined to receive by the next court, then called in, and upon demand answering that they neither had nor would, this he adjudged a contempt and there finable, and so fined one Throgmorton 40*l.*, Humphrey Cumberford as much, Roland Bulkelye 20*l.*, Richard Gravenor twenty

[1] John Elmer, made Bishop of London March 24, 1576, died June 3, 1594.

marks, and divers other to the sum of 500*l.* in one term, and this certified into the Exchequer, where afterwards they were enforced to reverse this as done contrary to law, to their great trouble and little less charge than their fines would have been.

Rowland Bulkeley, William Heigham, and —— Dudley disinherited by their fathers for being Catholics. So were Hugh Moore, Carleton, Jenison, Hummerstone, and divers others.

Munday, the pursuivant, searching the house of one Mrs. Vernon, had of her and her children for fees 10*l.*

CHAPTER IX.

LOSS OF FRIENDS.

CATHOLICS' children, besides difficulty of christening, taken from their parents: they permitted to keep no Catholic schoolmaster, neither may they put them to any University or Inns of Court.

Husbands accused by their wives, fathers by their children, *et e converso.* One Mr. Francis Rolson was apprehended and condemned to die by the procurement and evidence of his own son, but the precedent so bad he had his pardon. Mr. John Fitzherbert in like manner molested and troubled by his own son, imprisoned, and there dead. This imp also, Thomas Fitzherbert, hath sought by all means to take away the life of old Sir Thomas Fitzherbert,[1] who made him his heir and brought him up from a child. He hath caused him to be suspected of statute treason, and to be committed to the Tower, where he continueth. He hath procured also divers of his uncle's tenants to be

[1] Sir Thomas was the third and eldest surviving son of Sir Anthony. Thomas the "imp," the ally of Topcliffe against his own flesh and blood, was the third son of John, next brother to Sir Thomas.

imprisoned in Stafford, and there some of them are dead. [Old Sir Thomas now[1] dead in the Tower. *Interlined.*]

My Lady Englefield against Sir Francis,[2] the old Countess of Derby against her husband,[3] my Lady Paget against my Lord,[4] Mrs. Shelley against her husband remaining condemned in the Gatehouse,[5] the Countess of Shrewsbury against Father Abraham.[6]

A father in London caused his son to be whipped and burnt through the ear for being a Catholic.

CHAPTER X.

LOSS OF LIBERTY.

IN Hampshire all Catholics at liberty are fined and taxed at great sums, and this they enforced to pay, besides the danger of the statutes, and the reason of their fining is alleged in respect that her Majesty spareth their life.

[1] The commissions to the escheators of Staffordshire and Derbyshire, issued on the death of Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, are dated Dec. 1, 1591. P.R.O., *Docquet.*

[2] Sir Francis Englefield, knighted in 1547, convicted of high treason in 1564, died at Valladolid about 1592, married Catherine daughter of Thomas Fettiplace.

[3] The "old Countess of Derby" was probably Mary, daughter of Sir George Cotton, the third wife of Edward third Earl of Derby, who after his death in 1573 married Henry Earl of Kent. She died in 1580.

[4] Margaret, daughter of Sir John Newton of Barr's Court, co. Somerset, widow of Sir Thomas Southwell K.B., was the wife of Thomas, third Lord Paget, who was attainted, and died at Brussels in 1589. She died in 1583.

[5] Jane Shelley, whose husband was in the Gatehouse many years, was not a wise woman. She confessed (Jan. 28, 1593), before Sir William Waad and Richard Young, that she had consulted John Fletcher, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, who was "said to be skilful in astronomy," enquiring of him "what would become of her husband, he being a prisoner and a dead man in law." John Alfrey at the same time deposed that he had told Mrs. Shelley that her husband should be drawn on a hurdle in spring, and she said, "I would to God he were gone, but I believe he will not live so long, he doth use so much physic." P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxliv. n. 42.

[6] The Countess of Shrewsbury must be the well known Bess of Hardwicke, but who was her kinsman, Father Abraham? Abraham Sutton, a priest in exile in 1588, when the *Concertatio* was published, is the only priest mentioned in that book whose Christian name was Abraham.

Rich and poor, all are charged more than they are able to bear, and, if it be not ready when the officers come, they distrain their cattle.

Such Catholics as had their furniture [armour *interlined*] there taken from them, having provided other upon command in great haste, it will not be accepted, be it never so good, but they must pay the value in money.

William Price, meeting upon the way with a Puritan by him unknown, importuned to talk of religion, after a little communication, at the next town apprehended him for a Catholic, and so was sent to Shrewsbury gaol, where enduring great misery, at length for not being content to lie there, at so great charge as his keeper would have him, was accused as if he endeavoured to break prison, and so was laden with two pair of irons, the one so strait they were like to lame him.

In Hampshire there is a new prison erected, whereof one of Cooper's men is keeper.

Men and their wives committed, and their houses spoiled and goods taken away by pursuivants and ill neighbours.

Thomas Trym, a poor occupier, a prisoner in Chester nine years for his conscience.

Mr. Baker and Mr. Bikerton, old priests, imprisoned in Shrewsbury.

In Stafford imprisoned thirty, whereof six yet remain, the others for the most part dead.

In Herefordshire, prisoners seven gentlemen, three priests, four poor men, and three gentlewomen.

In the same shire four other gentlemen miserably persecuted but not apprehended, whereof one Mr. William Minors had his house searched on New Years' day by seven score men in arms, but not finding him, they indicted him for felony for receiving seminary priests.

In Monmouthshire, prisoners in all eight, whereof two, John Thomas and Roger Price, were whipped at the

assizes [which they took so patiently that they endured it with silence, whereat the justices marvelling, said, "If we whip rogues we shall hear them cry all over the town, but these make no noise." *Interlined.*]

Out of that country were sent to London, prisoners, Mr. Jetter and Mr. David Jones, servants to the Earl of Worcester, and there died in prison.

Five there imprisoned for burying a Catholic without a minister.

In Shropshire, prisoners, four gentlemen all spoiled of their living. Of them one Mr. Thomas Floed had taken from him at one time a goodly farm, with all his stock, about a hundred and sixty sheep besides other cattle.

In Cheshire, prisoners, in all eleven, whereof one Mr. Hocknell killed by his keeper.

In Denbighshire, four, whereof one John Hughes is condemned of high treason by the Statute of Persuasion.

In Flintshire, four, whereof one a maid.

In Carmarthenshire, three, whereof one dying, was buried in an old chapel uncovered, his fellow prisoner having but one little nag, gave it to a tiler to cover the chapel. At the next assizes this informed was thought a very heinous deed, and the man the more troubled.

In the Gatehouse were prisoners, seven priests and twenty laymen, all examined upon capital questions of supremacy, excommunication, deprivation, and taking part [in case of invasion by the Pope], unto the priests further whom they had reconciled, absolved, or ministered sacraments unto; to the laymen, when and by whom they were absolved or confessed. Three that acknowledged confession [two of old men *interlined*] and reconciliation were indicted of high treason, the one martyred, a second condemned and pardoned, the third not proceeded against further than indicted and since bailed.

Two lay gentlemen executed, the one for giving a

priest a quart of wine, the other a supper. The priest not taken, nor certainly known to be a priest.

[Gatehouse, *interlined*]. The priests removed from the laymen, first into a little garret, five together, where they continued two months, where they were driven to buy all their victuals of their keepers at an excessive price, and yet could hardly come by it, enforced to cry many times for necessaries, but heard at leisure, every way very much abused by the servants of the house, so that in fine they were enforced to go down to the lower wards of the common gaol, where they were put all together into a hole with only straw for their lodging, and without other light but of a candle, and so continued from the beginning of Advent until the fourth week in Lent.

A gentlewoman of great account bound to appear at an assize holden in her country, for her conscience. The place where the assize was kept being about twenty miles from her house, the gentlewoman at that time and six months before being extreme sick of a dangerous disease gotten in prison, not able without apparent peril of her life to go out of her chamber, caused divers worshipful gentle knowing this to be true to advertise the judges thereof, praying them to hold her default excused. But such was the fury of one of the judges that he would not forbear her presence, and gave the sheriff presently great charge to send for her with force. The sick gentlewoman on that was brought, and when he saw her, his fury overpast, he only said she was a grave matron, and so dismissed her, binding her over to the next assize. And it pleased God withal, contrary to the expectation of all men, that this journey turned her to the restoring of her health, whereas by supposal his sending for her was only of purpose that thereby she might have died.

Another, so weak with a continual fever which he had long time and even then did endure, by judgment of physicians in manifest peril of death, on a solemn feast

day, by counterfeit yet base authorized pursuivants, had his chamber searched and himself taken by force out of his bed, scarce able to stand or go, and so put in a boat and carried six miles by water, whither when he came to attend the examiner's leisure he was laid in the open air on the grass, then in his fit; and so in the end his estate being such through sickness as no keeper was willing to take him prisoner, he was for money dismissed upon bands and returned again in the night, for that they seemed in the end ashamed of the fact.

CHAPTER XI.

MISERY OF CATHOLICS.

IN Worcester two old priests and two laymen. These have been there these two years, often brought to the bar at the assize time, and once asked by Manwood,[1] judge, why they would not come to Church, one answered stoutly, "Because we know God's service is not there." "Whose service then?" said the judge. "Look you to that," quoth the priest. Whereupon he commanded bolts to be laid on them, and all that day to keep them fast in the stocks.

An alms of milk being given to one Mother Taylefathes, aged and decrepit, one Rogers, a persecutor, that had before offered to discharge his dagg [pistol] at another Catholic, that had but the use of one of his hands, he took this milk from the poor woman, and washed his hands in it, saying she was unworthy to have alms, and that whosoever gave her anything should repent it all the days they had to live.

Divers pursuivants dwell in the country. When they have wearied themselves in searching, they send to London for their companions. Then they divide them-

[1] See *Troubles*, First Series, p. 79, *note*.

selves into divers troops, and so search in divers places at once; and when one company hath searched in one place, another company succeedeth in the same, continuing sometimes a month together in this order. Sometimes they give a fierce assault all at one time, in one place, staying all they find, that none escape to give warning to others. There done, in all possible haste they gallop to the next Catholic house, making forcible entries, leaving nothing unsearched. After a little intermission they come again, saying they have new and more ample commission, and behave themselves accordingly. If any man seems to resist them, they by and by carry them to prison, terming them rebels, and the Queen's enemies. There shall they lie without remedy, either for liberty or their goods wrongfully taken away. Their worshipful friends about Court telling some in secret, in this cause they durst do nothing; but were it either for robbery, murder, or any such outrage, they could and would help them.

1588. William Brestock, having his house violently assaulted by pursuivants, and by them his wife stricken down to the ground, coming to recover his wife, who lay sprawling on the ground, and by them set upon, defending himself was by them taken, his arms pinioned, his legs bound under a horse's belly, and so carried to Worcester gaol. This happening on Good Friday, to the great comfort of the confessor, for that, carried along the country with many men in arms which the pursuivants had raised in the Queen's name, he had a forcible apprehension of our Saviour His usage that day, and so rejoiced that he did in something imitate it. [He] after died in prison, annoyed with the corrupt air of his noisome lodging, leaving his constant wife and four children, the eldest not twelve years old, behind him, and nothing to keep them withal; himself before, for his conscience, spoiled of all.

Many Catholics have fled the realm, others live

obscure in unknown places by contrary names. Some commend themselves prisoners to noblemen, whereof one so prisoner his patience, demeanour, and purity of life were such that the lady of the same house said to some secret friends of hers, "If all Papists lived so well as my lord's prisoner did, Protestants must needs be in ill state towards God."

A farmer dead in prison, despoiled of all he had, leaving his wife and eight children, all under twenty years old, to the world.

In York, prisoners sixty.

In Hampshire, as many in the gaol, Bridewell and other new erected prisons; for the most part very poor men that live by spinning and such base trades, and alms.

When priests are apprehended and imprisoned, they suborn some of their keeper's servants to take upon them to be Catholics, and so to persuade them to write to their friends, promising safe delivery. If they write, as some have done, those letters are carried to Topcliffe or such like. They either then intercept, if matter sufficient, and so apprehend the parties, or otherwise send the letters new written in a counterfeit hand, and so pass them to and fro, till they [think] the parties be within danger, and then entrap them. This experienced in Mr. Gerard's[1] letters to Mr. Dryland, and Mr. Jones' to others.

Two gentlemen taken, imprisoned, and very hardly used, for that at the arraignment of Mr. Jones,[2] they seemed to show him a familiar countenance.

One being at the execution of Mr. Middleton, upon a very good gelding of his master, being indeed but a poor horsekeeper, for that he was supposed to be like

[1] Perhaps Miles Gerard, who was martyred at Rochester, April 30, 1590. Christopher Dryland was a prisoner at Wisbech, and so was Alexander Gerard.

[2] Edward Jones and Anthony Middleton, priests, suffered May 6, 1590, the one in Fleet street, the other in Clerkenwell.

one that had been seen at Rome, was apprehended, and albeit mistaken, being found to be a Catholic, his gelding was taken from him, and he committed to Bridewell, where he was forced to go in the mill many days in his boots, and to endure many other miseries, hanging him up by the hands, and such like.

In Hampshire, three prisons full of Catholics to the number of eighty at least, but most poor men, who pray earnestly to be made worthy to suffer death in God's cause. The gentlemen are removed from their country, lest among their neighbours, tenants, and acquaintance their good life and behaviour should win many unto them, as in truth it did whilst they were there imprisoned.

CHAPTER XII.

TRIALS AND SENTENCES.

THE form of the indictment against priests is thus. "Inquiratur pro domina Regina si R. S. nuper de L. in comitatu M. clericus, natus apud N. in comitatu prædicto infra regnum Angliæ, et post festum Nativitatis S^ti^ Joannis Baptistæ, anno regni D^næ^ N^ræ^ Elizabeth, etc. primo factus ordinatus et professus sacerdos seminarius, Anglice *A Seminary priest*, aucthoritate et jurisdictione derivata clamata et pretensa a sede Romana, a partibus transmarinis applicuit et die et anno—proditorie fuit et remansit apud C. in comitatu prædicto contra formam statuti in hujusmodi casu editi et provisi et contra pacem dictæ Dominæ Reginæ coronam et dignitatem suas."

Divers priests taken at sea, or presently upon their landing, it not appearing directly that their intention was for England. Notwithstanding they were indicted, arraigned, condemned, and executed, as flat within the compass of the statute; as four priests at Durham, Mr. Gerard and Mr. Dickinson in Kent, others in the

Isle of Wight, and Mr. Robinson at Ipswich, with divers others.[1]

And whereas by statute all that wittingly and willingly shall receive, relieve, aid, or comfort a Seminary priest, are felons, the law is taken so hard in that behalf, as Mr. Martin and Mr. Floyd were indicted, condemned, and executed for relieving one Mr. Horner, *alias* Forest,[2] a priest, the one only giving him a quart of wine, the other a supper, notwithstanding that the supposed priest was neither in hold, condemned, nor outlawed, and so uncertain to the judge and jury whether a priest or no, or whether such a priest as the statute forbids, not conformed, &c. Whereas by law such aiders, and relievers, which are but offenders in a second degree, ought not to be arraigned before the principal in the highest degree had been condemned.

And whereas reconciliation by express word of the statute is made treason, the law is so hardly construed, that if any Catholic do by circumstance confess that at any time he hath been confessed to any priest, either Seminary or otherwise, he is by and by adjudged in case of treason. So Henry Foxwell, gentleman, saying that he was confessed and absolved by Mr. Baldwin, priest, they both living prisoners in the Gatehouse, and the priest there before dead; he was for this indicted, and

[1] The four priests martyred at Durham were Edmund Duke, Richard Hill, John Hogg and Richard Holiday. They suffered May 27, 1590; Miles Gerard and Francis Dicconson at Rochester, April 30, 1590; Robert Anderton and William Marsden in the Isle of Wight, April 25, 1586; John Robinson at Ipswich, October 1, 1588; Richard Martin and Richard Flower, laymen, at Tyburn, August 30, 1588; Robert Sutton, schoolmaster, at Clerkenwell, October 5, 1588.

[2] Justice Young wrote to the Lord Keeper, December 23, 1592, that Robert Faux confessed that three or four years since, before he was committed to prison, he gave a grey nag with a saddle and bridle to Forrest, a priest, at an alehouse in Stoke, in the county of Northampton, and that he heard six or seven years ago that the said priest was about Harborough. Faux was put to the torture for a while, but Young says that he could not draw any further matter from him. P.R.O. *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxliii. n. 93.

condemned of high treason, but by the humble suit of his wife reprieved and pardoned to his great charge. So Robert Sutton, Master of Art, saying that he was confessed and absolved by an old priest, and by him brought *in gremium Ecclesiæ*, to which he was drawn by the examiners' saying that unless he would confess himself to be reconciled, all his Catholic brethren would cast him out of their society, was arraigned, condemned, and executed at Clerkenwell, but pardoned of drawing and quartering, only hanged on a gibbet set up of purpose, as a great malefactor. Divers others for the like words have been indicted, and some shortly after bailed, notwithstanding this great treason.

A gentleman, a bill of indictment being framed against him for four months recusancy, and so forfeiture of 80*l.*, two neighbours of his, substantial men, stood up, and said they would depose they saw him at Church within one month. And in truth, he had not been so long Catholic. Notwithstanding, this judge said he knew the contrary, and would not allow of their testimony, but commanded the jury to find the bill, which was done accordingly.

CHAPTER XIII.

THOSE THAT DIED IN PRISON.

1589. RICHARD BOLBETT, Thomas Cosen and his wife; at the same time Ann Launder, the wife of John Launder.

1590, the 26th of January, the aforesaid John, who had suffered for the cause (for the space of twelve years his wife and he had lived in continency), all these made blessed ends in the Clink.

Mr. Cumberford at Hull, having been long before prisoner at York.

Dr. Draycott, long prisoner, at length getting a little liberty, went to Draycot, and there died.

Hugh Dutton, in the Counter, Wood Street.

In Worcester, two old reverend priests, the one of them so terrified at his apprehension that he lost the perfect use of his memory until a little before his death, when [it was] restored, he and the other there happily changed this life.

Two gentlemen there dead also in the gaol; Mr. William Bredstock and Mr. William Heath. This Heath [was] nephew to Mr. Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England. These gentlemen had endured much in prison, having continued there three or four years, and all they had taken from them.

Mr. Green and Thomas Lynch dead in Sarum.

1586. Robert Holland, gentleman, aged forty-eight, in June; Gabriel Empringham, gentleman, aged twenty, in September; Peter Lawson, gentleman, aged forty-eight, in September; Edmund Sexten, gentleman, aged sixty, in October; Henry Riston, gentleman, aged thirty-six, in November; and Richard Weston, aged thirty; all prisoners in the Marshalsea, for their conscience, there died.

1587. Martin Sherson, priest, aged twenty-eight, there imprisoned, died in February.

Mrs. Philip Lowe, before condemned as a felon for receiving priests, having for many years endured much vexations both in prison and abroad, aged fifty, in April, 1588, died in the White Lion.

At Dorchester, dead in prison, an old priest, and John Jessop, gentleman, Mrs. Tremaine, and divers others.

In Carnarvonshire, William Griffith, a schoolmaster, upon the uproar at the death of the Queen of Scots, committed by his keeper to the dungeon in great misery; removed thence a fortnight after, as soon as he came into the fresh air, died.

July 15th, 1590, Mrs. Ursula Forster, died in Shrewsbury gaol, having there worn irons, very much misused

by the keeper, and not an hour before her death threatened with the dungeon.

John Thomas, sometimes Bishop Goldwell's man, died in the Counter. Edward Ellis, a gentleman, falling sick in the Fleet, where he was committed for conscience, removed by suit to a friend's house in the city, there died presently.

David Gwynne, in the Counter, by the infection of the prison.

CHAPTER XIV.

MARTYRDOMS.

ANNO DOMINI 1588, the 26th of August,[1] Mr. William Gunter, priest, was arraigned and condemned at Newgate, for that being demanded by the Commissioners whether he had reconciled any since he came into England, he, resolute and willing to die, answered he had, which his examination at his arraignment for that he confessed it true, he had judgment without any jury; and so a day after was carried to the place of execution, where the sheriff telling him that the Queen had pardoned him that he should not be quartered: "It is requisite," said he, "for I am not worthy to suffer so much as those martyrs that have gone before me."

1588, 16th Septembris. Mr. John Robinson,[2] prisoner in the Clink with Mr. James and Mr. Way, priests; these two being sent for to be arraigned, he desired also of God that he might be one, saying: "Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, how happy were I if God would bestow so good a turn upon me as that I might now die for this cause." Scarce had he ended these words but he was presently sent for, and

[1] Bishop Challoner says August 28, which is more probably correct, as on that day seven other martyrs suffered in different parts of London. William Gunter was executed at "the new pair of gallows set up at the Theatre."

[2] See *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 180.

so carried to Ipswich, where at his arraignment the judge wondering to see him so resolute as he was in his answers, said: "I think this fellow is determined to die." "For no other cause," quoth he, "came I hither," and so received his judgment joyfully, and most patiently suffered his martyrdom.

1588. Mr. William Way,[1] priest, a man much mortified by great abstinence and other austerities, lying ever in prison upon the boards and wearing continually a shirt of hair, so desirous of martyrdom that he would many times cry out: "Oh, I shall never come to it," was conveyed from London to Kingston-upon-Thames, where answering with great constancy, was drawn, hanged, and quartered with severity.

Mr. [Richard Wynne *alias*] White, at Wrexham, in Denbighshire. [October 17, 1584.]

1588. Mr. Edward James, priest, a man very modest and humble, ever contemning death, much given to meditation, and receiving thereby many spiritual consolations, having vowed himself into the Society, from London was conveyed to Horsham, and so to Chichester, where he was martyred with Mr. Crockett [October 1].

Before these, Mr. Adams, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Transam,[2] out of the Clink, died most gloriously.

Robert Sutton, layman, Master of Arts, having endured long imprisonment in the Gatehouse, was arraigned, condemned, and executed at Clerkenwell upon the statute of reconciliation, for saying he was confessed and absolved by an old priest and by him brought *in gremium Ecclesiæ*, pardoned of quartering.

1589. In July, Mr. Nichols and Mr. Richard Yaxley, priests, Mr. Belson, gentleman, and one Humphrey [Pri-

[1] See *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 234.

[2] Edward Transham or Stransham, *alias* Edmund Barber, suffered at Tyburn, January 21, 158$\frac{5}{6}$; John Lowe and John Adams also at Tyburn, October 8, 1586.

chard], a poor tailor in Oxford, were removed from the Gatehouse to Oxford assizes, where they were taken, and there all executed [July 5], the priests for remaining in the realm contrary to the statute, the laymen for aiding them in their function. [All executed but the tailor. He was offered, if he would go to church, to be saved; he answered, he had rather die with his friends than live with those conditions. Their faces turned all east, the chiefest west. *Interlined.*]

1590. Four other priests executed out of the Gatehouse, with Miles Gerard and Francis Dickenson in Kent, Mr. Christopher Bales and Mr. Edward Jones in Fleet street,[1] all for coming into the realm contrary to the statute. With Mr. Bales, at that time were executed as felons Nicholas Horner upon a gibbet in Smithfield and Saunder Blake upon a gibbet in Gray's Inn lane before his own house, for receiving and relieving priests, the one a tailor, the other a poor man that kept lodging.

1588. In October, Edward Campion, aged thirty-six, Ralph Crockett, thirty-six, Christopher Buxton, aged thirty, Robert Wilcocks, aged thirty, all priests out of the Marshalsea, for being priests and in England contrary to the statute, had judgment, and were executed as traitors [at Canterbury].

Edmund Shelley, gentleman, aged forty-eight, Hugh Moore, gentleman, aged twenty-five, and Henry Webly, aged thirty, laymen, for their conscience were hanged.[2]

Robert Sutton, priest, condemned at Stafford, and there executed [July 27, 1587].

1582, 27th August, William Lacy, Richard Kirkman, priests. November 26th, James Thompson, priest. 1583,

[1] Christopher Bayles, Nicholas Horner, and Alexander Blake martyred March 4, 1590; Edward Jones, May 6, in the same year.

[2] Edward Shelley, suffered at Tyburn, August 30, 1588; Hugh Moore at Lincoln's Inn Fields, August 28, and Henry Webley at Mile's End Green on the same day.

March 16th, William Hart, priest. May 29th, Richard Thirkeld, priest. 1584, August 8th, John Finglay, priest. 1585, November 16th, Hugh Taylor, priest. November 17th, Marmaduke Bowes, gentleman, a layman. 1586, March 25th, Mrs. Clitherow. June 3rd, Francis Ingleby, priest. July 23rd, Robert Bickerdick, a layman. November 30th, Alexander Crowe, priest. December 1st, Richard Longley, gentleman, a layman. 1587, March 23rd, Edmund Sykes, priest. September 9th, George Douglas, a Scot, priest. 1588, November 30th, Edward Burdon, priest. 1589, March 16th, Robert Dalbye, John Amyas, priests. 1589, September 14th, William Spencer, priest, and Robert Hardisty, layman, all martyrs at York.[1]

Mr. Sykes, a man of great abstinence and austerity of life, using twice every week discipline, continuing it after his condemnation; when, as he found repugnance in himself against it, whereof acquainting another priest with it, he told him he should not punish his body any more, it being then about to be glorified. He used once every day to prostrate himself half-an-hour on the cold ground; to say, besides his breviary, weekly the whole psalter, besides many other his prayers and devotions, &c.

Anno Domini 1590, the 27th of May, Edmund Duke, Richard Hill, John Hogg, and Richard Holiday, priests, were arraigned, condemned, and executed at Durham, upon the statute of coming into the realm. At the same time and place were put to death four men for felonies, who all there protested that they would die in the same faith those four priests had died for. "Sure," said they, "they were God's priests." Divers beholders, when these martyrs were offered their pardons if they would go to church, said boldly they had rather die themselves than

[1] Bishop Challoner gives August 22 as the day of the martyrdom of Lacy and Kirkman, November 28 of Thompson, March 15 of Hart, November 26 of Taylor and Bowes, October 8 of Bickerdike, November 29 of Burdon, September 24 of Spencer and Hardisty, and June 3, 1586 of Finglay.

any of them should relent, one saying (he had seven children): "I would to God they might all go the same way in making such a confession of their faith." Others saying: "They have done their parts; if we be damned, it is long of ourselves. This is a preaching unto us, they die for Him that died for them." When their heads were cut off and holden up as the manner is, not one would say: "God save the Queen," except the catchpolls themselves and a minister or two.

1587. Mr. Holford,[1] a priest, apprehended in Gloucestershire, was there arraigned, condemned, and executed for coming into the realm. The man that was cause of his apprehension, after his condemnation came into the prison, and on his knees with weeping tears, asked him forgiveness. He continued most zealously in doing his function unto his very death. That very day he suffered, having offered the most Divine Sacrifice, and made a very fervent and forcible exhortation to many Catholics there present in secret for their perseverance in the Catholic faith, as he was at his nine-hour [*i.e.* saying None] or thereabouts, word was brought him that the executioners staid for him at the prison gate; he, desiring their patience a little, ended his service, blessed and kissed the company, and so departed to his martyrdom, wherein he abode such inhuman cruel butchery that the adversary preachers exclaimed in their sermons against it.

Anno 1588. In the same country was taken and imprisoned Mr. Stephen Rowsome,[2] priest, arraigned, condemned, and executed for the same cause. This man had been banished and was returned. A man of singular perfection, he had in his lifetime many heavenly visions, as great lights in windows and places where he was alone and sometimes with others. His crown of martyrdom

[1] Thomas Holford, *alias* Acton, was taken in London, and executed August 28, 1588, at Clerkenwell.

[2] Stephen Rousham suffered at Gloucester in March or July, 1587.

showed him most gloriously, being yet a minister, and in schism. Afterwards a priest and in prison, God the Father, Christ our Saviour, our Blessed Lady, glorious souls of saints, full often appeared unto him, leaving behind them such odoriferous smells, and sometimes lasting many hours with him, that for the space of one day and a half he thought himself in heaven, his joys were so great and strange. This heavenly company had divers speeches with him in their several shows [appearances] to him, which he would not utter, neither did he reveal this but a little before his martyrdom to a dear worshipful friend after long suit to him. This martyr standing among the common prisoners at his arraignment, even before the judges' bench and whole multitude, did not cease to persuade divers there prisoners and thereby gained divers of them to God, some dying with him at the same time for their faults in the same faith, and others then quit and since delivered, still continuing constant Catholics. He celebrated daily in prison, even on the day he died; and, as it happened before to Mr. Holford, so he had not full made an end of his Mass when the tormentors came to have him to his death. Many were confessed and communicated by him that day, and still were present with him to receive his benediction and kiss of peace at his departure; which done, he went to the executioners that expected his coming. Then was he laid on the draw, and by that he came to the place of execution. He had wholly unbraced and untrussed himself, thinking they would have used him as savagely as they had his predecessor there; viz., cut him down by and by alive, and so by untying his clothes after, to bowel and quarter him, to suffer him wholly revive, and thereby pass with the more extremity of pain; but the dean and preachers there, both then and before, with such vehemency had exclaimed against that inhuman dealing, that they friendly suffered him to

hang until he were dead, which martyrdom he endured with great mildness, saying that he should forthwith conquer the world, the flesh, and the devil. After his judgment, as he came to the prison, his persecutors had provided many boys and placed them on a dunghill to annoy the blessed martyr by throwing filth on him as he came by; by doing and performing whereof they showed the filth of their minds.

1589. At the same place was arraigned, condemned, aad executed a poor man, by occupation a glover,[1] for persuading some of his kin to the Catholic religion, one only being witness against him, that had before imprisoned his own wife for her conscience, and so indebted as not daring to show his face, but that he was only for that time and purpose protected by Judge Manwood, who after he had condemned him, seemed unwilling that he should die, and therefore made him that offer that if he would but say he would go to church he should have his pardon. Besides he appointed his friends and kindred, the officers and preachers, to persuade with him but to promise so much, which when they could not obtain of him, when he was ready to go to execution they caused the passing bell to go for him, thinking that with the terror thereof he would be moved to grant so much. Again and again at the place of execution they made the same offer, but all in vain; with fervent constancy he most willingly yielded himself to those their torments, and therefore they ended him as butcherly and bloodily as ever they did any.

Mr. Pilchard,[2] in Dorsetshire. Mr. Gunter, a priest in London, some saying and singing as he hanged after his death, "This man for the Pope is hanged with a rope."

[1] Probably William Lampley, of whom Bishop Challoner only says that he suffered at Gloucester in 1588.

[2] Thomas Pilchard suffered at Dorchester, March 21, 1587, and William Gunter in London, at the Theatre, August 28, 1588.

Mr. Richard White, in Wales. The Earl of Northumberland murdered in the Tower with a dagg [pistol].

1589.[1] In Hampshire, a young man of eighteen years, having been a very earnest heretic, offering to dispute with Catholics, and yet being able but to read English, lighted upon some Catholic books. By reading he desired conference with a priest; upon conference, became Catholic; continued very constant, and lived very virtuous. Soon after, falling into extreme sickness, in this extremity he used some words against the Queen, saying she was an heretic. This overheard by some by chance in the house where he lay, he was forthwith taken out of his bed, committed to the gaol at Winchester for treason, fettered to one in for felonies, and there lodged among them on the ground. It pleased God to restore him his health. He then took upon him all the base offices of the prison, so far entreating his companion that he would stand still some two hours in a day whilst he said his prayers. The prisoners persuaded him to go to church, otherwise they said he would be hanged; he answered he never would alter his religion, and for hanging he prayed God make him worthy. At the next assize being called, the judge showed him a pair of beads and a crucifix hanged to it found with him; he desired to see it, which receiving, he reverently kissed it and blessed himself with a fire [*i.e.* fervently]. Said the judge, "Thou takest that for thy God?" "Not so, my lord; but for a remembrance of the death which my Saviour suffered for me." He was indicted of high treason upon those words [said in his illness], and being willed to confess them, he said that to his knowledge or remembrance he never spake them; but because the witnesses said he did, he would not stand in it. Whereupon he had judgment

[1] This date, which is interlined, is a mistake. Laurence Humphreys, the account of whose martyrdom is here given, suffered at Winchester in 1591, in the twenty-first year of his age. In all other respects this narrative agrees with that written by Father Thomas Stanney, S.J., by whom he was converted.

to go to the place from whence he came, thence to be drawn to the place of execution, there to be half hanged, so to be cut down, then to be unbowelled, his head to be cut off, his body to be quart[er]ed, his head to be set on a pole, his quarters on the four gates of the city. "And all this," said he, "is but one thing." "What thing?" said the judge. He answered, "One death." Thereupon had away, he was beset with a rabblement of ministers, who asking him what he was, he answered "A Catholic." They replying further "What is a Catholic?" he said, "He that believeth that which the Catholic Church teacheth and preacheth, according to the consent of all ancient and holy fathers." Hereupon the ministers forsook him. Being laid again in prison, he spent all that time that he had in prayer prostrate on the ground. When he was to be laid on the hurdle he made the sign of the Cross and laid him down. Going up to the gallows, the hangman reviled him, saying, "Thou holdest with the Pope, but he hath brought thee to the rope, and the hangman shall have thy coat." At which words he smiled and said nothing; thereupon the hangman gave him a blow under the ear, saying, "What! dost thou laugh me to scorn?" And he mildly answering him, "Why strikest thou me? I have given thee no such occasion." His words scarce ended, the hangman turned the ladder and so he happily obtained his wish for glorious martyrdom.

Mr. Bales at his execution said that if he were again free in France, and sure to remain there in safety, or otherwise to return into England certainly knowing that then here he should die this kind of death, he would notwithstanding come if he might gain but one soul unto God.

Mr. Jones having endured more than human cruelty in prison, upon the ladder said that he died only for being a priest and coming into the realm to do his function, first affirming the title set upon his gibbet to be most false, namely, "For treason and favouring foreign invasions."

(—this was written in great letters and set upon divers gibbets in the streets where Mr. Bales, Jones, Middleton, priests, Horner and Blake, laymen, were executed—), and by and by was cast over the ladder.

Mr. Middleton at that time suffered with him, but not at that place, being taken but two days before. At the execution of Mr. Jones they placed him so nigh his butchering for a terror that his blood sprinkled on him. He despatched, they drew him to another part of the city, where a gibbet was in like manner prepared. All the way as he went he smiled, and looked very cheerfully going up the ladder. Troubled with a minister full of words, he answered him, "Heretic, farewell! now I am no more in thy power." Then he asked Topcliffe whether it were lawful for him to speak. "Aye," said he, "so you speak to the glory of God and good of her Majesty." Whereby perceiving that he should speak but what they list, "Well," said he, "since it is not lawful to speak, behold, the Catholic Roman faith, which by my speech I cannot, by my death I will, confirm," and so was thrown over the ladder.

Mr. Anderson and his fellow, both priests, executed in the Isle of Wight.

Mr. Body, Mr. Slade, in Hampshire, for supremacy.

Robert Hardesty, a young man, apprehended upon the way by Sir William Mallory, in Yorkshire, supposed in the company of Mr. William Spenser, priest, albeit he was some furlong before him, and denied that he knew the said Mr. Spenser; notwithstanding his horse and cloak taken away, and his arms pinioned, and so carried through the city of York. He was there committed to the Castle, where giving himself much to contemplation and prayer, desiring ever to be solitary, saying over his beads every day twelve times, besides other devotions, he began to feel extraordinary sweetness therein, and thereby grew into a

[1] Robert Hardesty suffered with William Spenser at York, September 24, 1589. What is here detailed is all that is known concerning him.

little vain liking of himself. Admonished by his chamber-fellow to take heed of illusions of the enemy and not to desire to be singular in anything, he began to grow in some doubt of his well-doing, fearing lest that he had been too credulous to those sweet motions that he felt, and that they might have proceeded from the enemy, whereupon he desired to be confessed to the same Mr. Spenser, being in the same prison, but so separated as he had no other shift or mean to speak unto him, but through a rift or hole, where he began to make his confession. Whilst he came to *Mea culpa*, where as he could go no further, but began to howl, lament, roar, and cry out so mightily and so loud, as he was heard over all the prison. His fellow-prisoners, laying their hands on him to carry him to bed, he smote with feet and hands at them, and cried out pitifully; in fine, laid on a bed, the light stopped, and the chamber dark, those about him fell to their prayers. Within three hours the blessed man had his senses and was come to perfect memory again, desiring them still to pray for him, saying that he would never be singular again, but follow the orders of the house in all respects; "for," quoth he, "the enemy had gotten such power over me for that time you see me so senseless, that all the parts of my body were so sore that I could not abide without crying, if any of you should so much as lay on me a finger, but that it went to my heart every time you touched me never so lightly, as though a knife had been thrust into my flesh." Straight after this he and the priest, Mr. Spenser, were carried before Mr. Meares to receive their trial upon their lives, and having no matter to charge this Hardesty, they produced the gaoler and his man to depose that they had known the said Robert to have relieved the Papists his prisoners, and that he brought them sundry times venison, (whereof himself had part), and other relief. Upon this the good man had judgment against him as in case of felony for relieving priests, and

was executed accordingly, together with Mr. Spenser for being a priest, who, after the jury had given their verdict without any evidence at all, said to the foreman: "Ha, Mr. Bowemer, I willed you aforehand to take heed what you did, and to be sure you did not yield against equity and conscience, not for any account I make of myself (for I am willing to die for so glorious a cause), but for avoiding the heavy hand of God and the shedding of innocent blood, which chiefly dependeth on your conscience. I said only I was a priest and an Englishman; but what was my name, where and when I was made priest, I did not confess, neither had you any evidence." "Alas! sir," quoth the foreman, "we did nothing but as we were appointed and charged by Mr. Meares and Mr. Rooksby, to find you guilty because you were a priest; for where should you be made priest, being so young a man, but beyond the seas, and therefore a Seminary?" "Thereof had you no evidence," quoth he, "and you ought not to have condemned me upon supposal. And if I had thought you could have found in me any cause worthy of death, I would not for any thing have put my life in your arbitrement, but my case being so clear I was content; else should the magistrates themselves have answered for my blood, and upon their heads it should have lain, and not on yours." Afterward the foreman and another of the jury came unto him weeping, having remorse for their rash and ungodly verdict, acknowledging their fault, saying they were sorrowful for that they had done.

The 6th of December, 1591, at Westminster, were arraigned Polidore Plaisden, Hustes [Eustace] White, and [Edmund] Jennings, priests, for coming into England contrary to the statute, and condemned.

At the same time were also arraigned Swithin Wells, gentleman, and his wife, a man of Mr. Owen's[1] and one

[1] This man's name was John Mason. These three priests and four laymen were martyred on the 10th of December, 1591.

Sidney Hodgson, for receiving and relieving; Mr. Wells and his wife for having Mr. Jennings [Genings] found in his house; and the other two for resisting the pursuivants until such time as the priest had ended Mass and put off his vestments.

All except the women were executed the 8th December following. Mr. Jennings and Mr. Wells at his own door, and the same performed with great cruelty; the rest at Tyburn, with no less rigour.

At the same time was with them also executed as a reliever of priests, one Bryan Lacy, a kinsman of Mr. Scott's,[1] some four days before condemned, for that when Mr. Scott had warrant for banishment, in the time that he should have had for his taking leave of his friends, he accompanied him as his man, and after apprehended with him, for that he would not tell at whose houses they had been, and yet the same justifiable in some sort by law, but no law allowed; he was so executed.

The 23rd January was executed one Mr. Pattison,[2] a priest, for coming into England, *ut supra*, taken in the house of one Mr. Mompesson, who escaping himself by chance the persecutor's hands, had all his goods taken away, his house entered and rifled, and now indicted of felony, and enforced to leave his country.

This Pattison was most cruelly used, as cut down very lively, standing upright on his feet, and so quartered. After his condemnation, he was put in the Limbo with six other prisoners condemned to die for felonies; he persuaded and reconciled five of them, the sixth betrayed it, but the other five died in their faith Catholic, albeit

[1] Perhaps William Scott, O.S.B., in religion Father Maurus, who was martyred May 30, 1612. He was several times banished.

[2] William Patenson suffered at Tyburn, January 22, 159½. James Young, an apostate priest, wrote to Lord Keeper Puckering, August 27, 1592, that he "said Mass every Sunday to Mrs. Mompesson, as did Patenson, another priest since executed, to the rest of the household, Mr. Mompesson standing behind the door, to hear and not be seen by the servants." P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxlii. n. 122.

not openly protesting the same, as forbidden by their ghostly father, to the end that the like opportunity of saving souls may not be prevented hereafter, by separating the one from the other, as the malice of heresy would if they knew it.

Of these late executions, you shall have shortly a more particular and true advertisement, by a priest present at the stratagem, who hath promised to put the same in writing.

Of our late persecution in general it is so extreme as the like was never. All prisons are full of all sorts, old and young men, wives, widows, and maids. It is not enough to use all allegiance by way of protestation, unless they can get one to renounce the Pope and confer with the ministry, or else to be committed and indicted for 20*l.* by the month, and all further misery to be inflicted that they can possibly devise.

CHAPTER XV.

BLESSINGS FROM MARTYRS AND OTHERS.

MANY reconciled, incestuous marriages remedied, wrongs redressed.

Thirty-six reconciled by one priest in the space of two years, fifteen of them gentlemen, ten housekeepers.

Five hundred pounds restitution procured by the same priest in that space.

Ten prisoners committed at York, for felonies, murders, &c., moved by the good example and virtuous lives of Catholics there, have stoutly detested their former heresy, cursing the time that ever they knew the ministers and their religion, saying that was it that had made them thieves, most constantly professed the Catholic religion, desiring the Catholic prayers, and so at their execution professing, resolutely died.

One Bramley, in York prison for felonies, when Mr. Amyas and Dalby[1] were arraigned, saw hanging over their heads a great round light, which every time they spake, would as it were move itself, and at the end of their speeches vanished away. This man, ever before an heretic, was so moved therewith, as also with their speeches to the judges, as repenting his former life, he desired to be made a Catholic, and soon after for his fact executed, he refused to pray with the ministers, saying he had been too long of their synagogue and that he did then believe in all things as the Catholic Church taught him, and so commending himself to the prayers of Catholics, he patiently died with those blessed martyrs.

Fifty reconciled by three priests.

One that had been with Drake in the action of St. Domingo, ever an heretic, coming home chanced to read the "Resolution,"[2] with the terror whereof he was so frighted that his hair stood on end, went presently to some Catholic friends, desiring them to help him to a priest. They not trusting him, he persevered in reading of good books with such show of hearty sorrow for his former life that they fulfilled his request. He became Catholic, and continueth very constant, even with danger of being disinherited for it. In all that voyage with Drake, he never had anything of all their spoils.

One hundred and sixty reduced from schism and heresy by one priest, some of the nobility, some gentlemen, gentlewomen, and of all sorts.

[1] John Amias and Robert Dalby were martyred at York, March 16, $158\frac{8}{9}$.

[2] "The Book of Resolution" is the first title of Father Persons' "Christian Directory."

CHAPTER XVI.

RELICS.

MR. ROBINSON'S head fetched from Ipswich with apparent danger out of the midst of the town.

The body of Mrs. Clitherow being by her tormentors buried in a filthy place the same night she was martyred, six weeks after a Catholic by diligent search found it, and taking it up he found it whole without any putrefaction, and so carried it a great journey where he buried it again more decently eight weeks after her martyrdom, leaving then her body so pure and uncorrupted as though the blessed soul had departed from the body the day before, albeit it was so pressed and bruised, as in the order of her death is set down.

A gentleman in Gloucestershire, very much troubled and molested, long kept in prison for having the bloody shirt of the blessed martyr, Mr. Holford, wherein he was executed.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE POWER OF PRIESTS.

MR. BENNET,[1] a priest in Flintshire, brought before the Council of the Marches, and by them committed with another Catholic to close prison, they were put into a chamber where some wicked spirits had accustomed to frequent. At their first being in that chamber, their trenchers, or what else stood on the board, would fall down on the floor hard by: then would they be thrown

[1] John Bennet was ordained priest March 29, 1578, immediately before the transfer of the Douay College to Rheims. Six of the thirteen ordained that day afterwards became Jesuits, and of these Father Bennet was one. His examinations and tortures at Hawarden in 1583, and those of his fellow prisoner, Henry Pugh, are told in the *Concertatio*, fol. 194.

every night further than other: at length they seemed to be thrown with great force, the full length of the chamber, and ever they would light upon the wall next the side of the bed where Mr. Bennet lay. In the end Mr. Bennet made the sign of the Cross upon those things so accustomed to be thrown, and they lay ever after unmoved; but some other thing, either not signed by forgetfulness, or in the chamber unknown to them, would be so cast, and this continued for a week, in the beginning of the night, until Mr. Bennet, finding the means to make holy water, and sprinkling the chamber round about, they were troubled no more, saving that in the next chamber in the depth of night they should hear a trampling, sounding as though one went upon stilts.

In reconciling one obsessed, the devil, in the midst of the penitent's confession, stopped his breath, so as he could not go forwards, until by the priest he was commanded to the contrary.

All gentlemen had great bands offered them to seal with condition not to receive priests, and by them refused.

1590. A gentleman apprehended, his name Martin Rudsdon, and accused to be a priest, notwithstanding that he appeared before the Commissioners with an hawk on his fist. He answered he was no priest, whereupon Dr. Bennet said: "Indeed, priests used not to deny their profession being demanded," and so without further examination he was committed for being a recusant.

A priest boarded at sea by pirates and shot at, but the guns would not go off. Soon after landed, taken by a constable, having in his bosom a breviary and other note-books. Yielding himself willingly to go before a justice they willingly let him go. In his travels, he hath passed the watch secure, when other of his company have been stayed; in house he hath escaped many narrow searches. He had once a sword thrust within

a handful of his head. Before that, in a secret place, he had such a trembling in one of his legs, that it shaked the whole place where he was; and, when by no means he could stay it, at length by making the sign of the Cross on it, it ceased. For avoiding searches he hath been compelled five days and nights to lie in the woods, and other times to walk on hills and forests, and lie in hay-barns. He hath reconciled one hundred and sixty. He hath been driven to sit up four whole nights together to do works of charity, sometimes hearing one hundred several confessions at one time.

Mr. Spenser, a priest in York, being called before Meares and others in authority, and coming in his attire priestlike, Mr. Meares would have had him stript into his doublet and hose, saying, his very habit was able to persuade folks in the streets to be of his religion. Notwithstanding, they permitted him to go as he came, sharply rebuking his keeper for permitting him to wear that attire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DEVOTION OF CATHOLICS.

A GENTLEWOMAN very sick, so that physicians and friends did altogether despair of recovery, seeking for a priest, her messenger chanced to find him that was her first ghostly father, who came, heard her confession, and annealed [anointed] her. She presently thereupon recovered, so that within less than half an hour after all danger of death was past. Her husband, before a heretic, having heard that sacrament to have wrought miraculously, loving his wife, and knowing her to be Catholic, he himself put her in mind to seek for the benefit thereof, and the rather for that he was willing to experiment the same. Afterwards seeing the wonderful operation, God's grace so concurring, he became Catholic.

At Cold Hatton, in the parish of Hodnet in Staffordshire, divers houses by casualty set on fire on St. Mark's day, every of the neighbours removing their goods out of those houses adjoining, one man only omitted to remove anything out of his house, whereat his neighbours marvelling, he said, "I have fasted this day, as all my forefathers have done, let God work His will." In sequel not one house in all that town escaped unburnt besides that, and that remained untouched.

Many miracles in North Wales.

1590. In Norfolk, one Mrs. Tymperly, having a fistula in her face, which did so strangely go in and out that it was accounted three quarters of a yard long. She had long time applied remedies unto it, with great pain and small profit. On Trinity even, she felt extraordinary pain, and the sore being searched, they found another new passage, which went dangerously up into her throat, and made both her and her friends to greatly doubt the event. She had at that time a fervent desire the next day to receive the Blessed Sacrament, and to that purpose in all that pain, she went some two miles off, where she found a priest, where at her receiving she commended herself humbly and entirely into the hands of God, offering herself to abide His will, but with earnest petition that, if it might stand with His pleasure, she might have help, and to the end did conditionally vow every year to clothe three poor men in honour of the Blessed Trinity. Having satisfied her devotion, she went again presently home and laid her down to rest, being not able to eat or keep company for extraordinary pain. That night when the sore should be dressed, the lint was pulled out and came out as it was wont, but when a new should have been put in, it would not enter, neither could they get it in by any means, but after many essays were glad to lap it and let it alone unlinted. The next morning it was perfectly whole, and so remaineth to this

hour, to the admiration and comfort of herself and all her friends.

A young man of Staffordshire, one Maundy Thursday, providing flesh, and setting [it] over the fire, his house with the fire presently burnt.

Onslow, the Queen's solicitor for the Marches, coming to Salop his country, meeting certain gentlemen at Shrewsbury in the Lent, they fell to eating of rashers made of bacon on the coals. The solicitor died suddenly that night; the bacon, when he was opened, found raw in his stomach.

It was said, he that was the busiest in pulling down the cross at Shrewsbury brake his neck off a house shortly after.

A gentlewoman in Hampshire, having made her confession and received, and ready to yield up her ghost, sang most sweetly, descanting upon pricksong, which before she could not, saying, "I will praise Thee with angel and archangel." For which cause a priest that was with her talked unto her of heaven, to try if she did it not through lightness of head. She answered, she hoped to be partaker of those joys by the death and passion of our Saviour. [She] never spoke more words, but departed this life even as the priest had pronounced the last words of commending her soul. And on the tile where she lay appeared a white cross, as though it had been artificially made, but it was never seen before. And others dying in prison in that shire, right over the house were seen many bright crosses. The same gentlewoman, when she began to be very sick, began to fall into despair. A priest coming, and hearing her confession, she presently received great comfort, and was no more tempted, desiring death. A day after, in the morning, being asked by him how she did, she answered, "Well, I thank God, for that I am now one step nearer to heaven;" by reason that her sight was gone. Whereupon

she desired to be confessed, to receive, and to be annealed. For satisfying her desire, the priest said Mass in the chamber where she lay; which as he began to say, so she began to see, and at the Elevation she received again her perfect sight. After being annealed, she, to all men's judgment, recovered again, free from all sign of death. Whereupon she said, "I had thought that I should have troubled you no more, but I see it is otherwise. I have not yet satisfied for my sins." Three or four days after she made a most miraculous end, as before [said].

CHAPTER XIX.

GOD'S JUDGMENTS.

ONE BROWNE, by report a married bishop of Ireland, had a son who after was hanged on Shooter's Hill, for murdering Mr. Saunders and his man; this bishop himself, as it is said, after killed with horses.

One Robert Aston, parson, of Muçklaston in Staffordshire, the first married priest that ever was in that diocese, one of Fox his confessors in his *Book of Monuments*, denying upon his oath the receipt of an advowson delivered him by certain gentlemen of trust, was suddenly with a just punishment from God deprived both of his tongue and his wit; and living four or five years after, had neither tongue nor discretion to talk anything readily during his life.

One Cherington, of the county of Salop, compelling his son to receive the communion against his conscience, being in mind a Catholic, he became thereby soon after out of his mind; but since, by the help of a priest, much amended, and as it is thought, almost recovered.

One Sir Walter Aston, of Staffordshire, a great persecutor, especially of Mr. Sutton the martyr, having twice at his examination stricken him, once to the ground,

after the principal mean or agent in his martyrdom, was buried on May day next after. A priest, by occasion being within some three miles of the house the same day, saw with many others such terrible lightnings, besides many monstrous thunder-claps, as had seldom been seen before, but only that day that Leicester was buried. Those lightnings seemed to ascend upwards from round about the house of Ticksall [Tixall] into the air, and not contrariwise, like other lightning; much like squibs for the fleeting upward violently, but incomparably with greater light and terror.

A justice, riding on Whitsunday to search and molest Catholics, fell from his horse, broke one or both of his legs. The same justice, for his malice towards crosses, is called Justice Killcross. His wife is as malicious as himself, and rather more, for when she finds him not so willing as she would have him, she never leaves biting, pinching, scratching, and brawling with him until she have gotten him from his bed, and seen him out of doors to that purpose; hoping at least that thereby he may get some chalices or such commodity, the better to maintain their beggarly estate.

Richard Barnes, an apostata priest, twice married, a common drunkard, Bishop of Durham, accustomed to drink seven times every meal, and as many between meals, every draught containing a pint; and in his public consistory to offenders accustomed to use most obscene and filthy words, fell at length, with intemperance, into a fever, and so into a frenzy. One night, as he was about to rise out of his bed he fell out of his bed, and was like to have broken his neck, but for that time and with great difficulty recovered.

Soon after his disease brought him to his last exigent, when as past speech Toby Matthew willing him in sign of his faith to hold up his hands, he always held his fingers to his mouth, which one Ralph Hilton, his base

son, marking [it] swore, and said, Mr. Dean did mistake his father, for that his finger to his mouth did desire nothing but drink. And so desperately he died, and was buried the next night at midnight.

One Blunt, a great preacher, hanged in Staffordshire, for such filthiness not fit to be spoken.

One Mutton, sometime sheriff of Chester, had no greater felicity than in the breaking of crosses and chalices, and such like; which he performed most when he was in his office, and would at the same time have broken the high cross in Chester, but denied by some present, he came after in the night and broke it. Shortly after, even as he came by the same place, he was suddenly stricken with sickness, and was thence carried home, where he died miserably, and his goods procured much trouble after his death.

A preacher and chaplain of Dr. Walles, in Chester, in scorn of Tyburn and of a square cap, swore he would never wear a corner cap, and soon after hanged himself.

Walsingham, being well at four o'clock in the afternoon, was dead before eleven of the same night. His body did presently savour so that no man was able to endure it, and very much ado they had to keep the body with all manner of spices until the next night, when, as it was secretly carried and buried in Paul's about midnight, one of those that carried him soon after dying impoisoned with that most noisome smell.

Hurlestone [Huddlestone], a great persecutor in the north, the very hour he died, surprised by sudden death, did stink so abominably that nobody could endure to come nigh him.

II.

A YORKSHIRE RECUSANT'S RELATION.

A YORKSHIRE RECUSANT'S RELATION.

THE following narrative is taken from the same manuscript as the preceding, Father Grene's volume "E," now at Oscott. No introduction is needed, except the remark that a great many pages at the beginning of the paper are omitted, as they throw no additional light on the history of the persecution. It was written in 1586, as Father Grene has concluded from internal evidence, and has noted on the manuscript.

It may be convenient for the reader to be here furnished with a list of the Lords President of the North, and of the Council of the North during the Presidentship of the Earl of Huntingdon. In the latter the true shape will be seen of various names that occur in the "Relation."

LORDS PRESIDENT OF THE NORTH.[1]

28 Henry VIII. 1537. April 23. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
29 Henry VIII. 1538. Oct. 18. Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham.
30 Henry VIII. 1539. Sept. 30. Robert Holgate, Bishop of Landaff.
4 Edw. VI. 1556. Feb. 24. Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.
3 Elizabeth, 1561. Feb. 24. Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland.
6 Elizabeth, 1564. June 20. Thomas Younge, Archbishop of York.
15 Elizabeth, 1572. Dec. 1. Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.
41 Elizabeth, 1599. Dec. 9. Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley.

[1] Drake's *Eboracum*, London, 1736, p. 368.

1 James I. 1602. Sept. 19. Edmund Lord Sheffield.
17 James I. 1619. Sept. Emanuel Lord Scrope.
5 Charles I. 1629. Thomas Viscount Wentworth.
17 Charles I. 1641. Thomas Viscount Savile.

THE COUNCIL OF THE NORTH IN 1572.

The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President.

Sir Thomas Gargrave, Knt.	Ralph Huddlestone, Esq.
Sir Henry Gates, Knt.	Edward Stanhope, Esq.
Sir William Fairfax, Knt.	George Gibson, LL.D.
Sir George Bowes, Knt.	William Cardinal, Esq.
Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knt.	Charles Hales, Esq.
Sir Christopher Hildyard, Knt.	John Rookeby, LL.D.
Francis Wortley, Esq.	John Bennet, LL.D.
Laurence Meeres, Esq.	Thomas Ennys, Esq.
John Rokeby, Esq.	George Blyth, Esq.
Br. Bridges, Esq.	Henry Cheeke, Esq.
Humphrey Purefoy, Esq.	Rad. Rookby, Esq.
Laurence Bramston, Esq.	John Fearne, Esq.

Secretaries.

A YORKSHIRE RECUSANT'S RELATION.

From the original manuscript at St. Mary's College, Oscott.

CHAPTER I.

THE PERSECUTOR.

THE chiefest deviser and contriver of our troubles here is Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, and President in the North. This man, though he be descended of most noble parentage, and himself the top of the emulous house (as you have read), yet is he basely accounted of and had in no worthy estimation, as you know, in your parts. He is degenerated from all true nobility of his ancestors into a most bloody and heretical tyrant, insatiably thirsting for the lives and destruction of all good men, a fit instrument for the devil to work his will by, of no towardness in natural wit or wisdom to do well, a pestiferous and most irreligious dissembler for his own gain and credit. Only this ungracious insufficiency is in him, that, placed in authority, he can trouble, molest, and oppress whole countries, torment good men, and do good to none. In these parts this monster is god, king, bishop, president, catchpoll, and whatsoever else to annoy the Catholics. In future times you know he expecteth to be supreme head and chief senior of the Puritan synagogue, for of that dissembling sect he is already (though covertly) a principal member, fraudulently using this present time and state of the Protestant regiment to his most advantage. His visage bewrayeth him to be a tyrant, for at his first coming to

York as President, a most virtuous and learned man beholding him, said, "Truly I am greatly deceived if this man prove not as notable a tyrant as was Richard III., for," quoth he, "he beareth the very countenance and face of a tyrant." And no marvel, though this [man who] said thus, since which time hath tasted of his tyrant's cup, and now, I trust, is glorious in heaven for his patient suffering and long martyrdom here. When also the right honourable Countess, his mother,[1] seeing his barbarous and bloody mind, and fearing against herself his cruelty, many times would pray to God and wish she might end this mortal life before he should come to the supreme authority he aspired to. Neither did this good lady, his own mother, without great cause, fear herself to feel the smart of this her son Nero his knife, whose nature and inclination she knew to be infected with heretical fury, when also himself would often gloriously vaunt and say, that if the day should [come] he hoped for, when he might have authority and controlment, he would begin with them of his own kindred and root out of them as many as were Catholics. To this tyrant are adjoined Meares, Hurlstone, and yet another *stone*—some say they call him Ludstone—Purfer, Hutton, the pretended dean, and divers others, the chief members of the council of iniquity, all which being most greedy of preferment, gain, and credit, frame themselves in most flattering hypocrisy to his bloody humour, they ever bearing most credit with him which can contrive most wickedness. . . .[2]

Lastly followeth the whole crew and rout of rascality, that is, bailiffs, catchpolls, promoters, summoners, pursuivants, and serving-men. This ravenous nest of spend-

[1] His mother was Catherine, daughter of Henry Pole, Lord Montague, and grand-daughter of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, who was the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, the brother of King Edward IV.

[2] In a long passage of similar rhetoric here omitted, the writer calls "the miserable rout of profane and licentious ministers" by the title of "this black guard."

thrifts continually wait to prey upon us. The world never goeth well with them that day wherein they catch not a booty by some kind of prowling, most of these being *fæx populi*, wallowing in all dishonesty and vicious lives (for such are fittest instruments for the tyrant, as greedy of other men's harms as they are ever pinched with want and beggary through their slothful loitering), pretend great zeal in religion, and busily bestir themselves in promoting, searching, spoiling, apprehending, and tormenting us. When need in purse, clothes, or food pincheth them, their only comfort and shift is to increase and stir up their masters and justices with so colourable forged matter to search our houses, and to apprehend us. In all which affairs these zealous fellows for their licentious gospel use double diligence above the justices, to break open coffers, to rifle up chests and trunks, to turn houses upside down, and malpertly in their masters' presence to injure whom they list. Every their finger is a lime twig, and hardly faileth to catch one thing or another. All these sorts of devouring wolves persecute and daily prey upon us, besides gaolers, keepers, pen-clerks, and such like. Now, therefore, judge you whether our miseries be not most extreme whilst we suffer the malicious teeth of all these to gnaw upon us at their pleasure, which afflictions we sustain more cruel and intolerable in these parts than in any other province of the realm, where the Government is not committed to so notable a tyrant as [it] is here, but [is] in the hands of civil and reasonable men.

CHAPTER II.

SEARCHES.

SOME of our knights and justices are so vainglorious, rude, uncivil and uncourteous, that no stranger almost can pass or travel unexamined by them; who he is, from where he came, whither he goeth, yea, and what affairs and business also in particular he hath. They have conceit that to be thus inquisitive and busy in other men's matters, how clownish and rude soever it be among civil men, yet to be a good gentleman-like quality, for hereby they may be known to have authority, and to be diligent and serviceable for the preservation of the State. But I little marvel at this unseemly condition in them, because I see in every place among these heretical, profane, and irreligious gentlemen possessions only with vicious rudeness to be accounted the chiefest parts of worship and nobility; and virtues (without which there can be no true worthiness in any man) to be nothing at all required in them, but rather with derision and contempt abandoned and vehemently persecuted by them all. These uncivil gentlemen do not so vaingloriously practise this in the highways and abroad, where they might meet with passengers; but the hungry catchpolls and bailiffs, yea, the tipplers and innholders, use it as braggingly in towns also, especially nigh to the houses of such justices, hoping not only for lucre and bribes, but also hoping to pick thanks of their masters for the imitating of their malapert and undecent manners. This point of rudeness is not in all, nor in the best and wisest sort of our knights and gentlemen, but in some few haughty-minded and busy-headed men, which have great conceit of themselves as pillars of the present State, and God be thanked we suffer not so much harm by this kind of discourtesy and clownishness, as many honest men are

molested and many times horse-stealers and such-like companions of their own religion are apprehended, hereby also the justices themselves are not a little discredited and misliked among their neighbours, and condemned as rude, troublesome, and toto-officious. By these means I have known divers Catholics in danger and partly affrighted, but not many apprehended, besides Mr. Kirkman, a priest,[1] and now martyr, and with him a virtuous layman in the way by Mr. Worsley, Mr. Woodrofe, and others, and two or three by Sir William Mallory, who, in his unmannerly and vainglorious rudeness, most delighteth and passeth all other, for no stranger or countryman can escape him. I have yet this much spoken of it, because it is by these justices principally intended against us. . . .

Before they search a man's house, the doughty champions send forth their scouts, place their spies at every door and window, appoint a guard before themselves, give the charge and assault. Then they enter the house with drawn blades, bent crossbows, and charged dags. If they find a priest or Catholic, they shout and cry as though they had won a field; then they turn him naked, and take spoil of all he hath, and with marvellous pride and vainglory as famous champions, they carry him to the tyrant. When they find a priest they seize up and sweep away all the goods, and most barbarously execute their harbourers, as I shall show hereafter. In these searches also with much diligence they observe one point of devilish cruelty, that is, by threats, by dissembling promises, by flattery, and by all wicked means to force servants to betray their masters and children their own parents, requiring no more for the murdering of father or mother than one child's word, barbarously extorted by fear and threats. Finally, no man or family where they come escapeth their fury without some notable injury and harm, for the more mischief they do to their Catholic neighbours, the more welcome and

[1] John Kirkman suffered at York, August 22, 1582.

more gratefully are they accepted of the tyrant. Notwithstanding all this, he bewrayeth apparently his suspicious, jealous head over divers of these justices, that he putteth no affiance or surety in them. [They] knowing themselves more to deserve hatred of all than love of any, have not much affiance and trust in their favourers, for many times he sendeth direction to them to search, and fearing they should show any favour, or forget to use extreme cruelty in any point, he joineth one or two of his own men with them, or some hot minister, to be overseers and true reporters of their diligence, which thing some gentlemen fearing, though perhaps they would show themselves otherwise courteous and indifferent, yet by reason of these his surveyors, they execute his will in most violent manner, the silly men not perceiving, or else for want of true gentry not accounting, how in this tyrannous distrust he doth abuse them with no small injuries of disgrace. Sometimes also he commandeth gentlemen to search, and in the meantime he appointeth others to search their houses, that whilst they are busily troubling their neighbours, their own families do not escape scot free; and to be short, these uncivil heretics are not ashamed to search and rifle women's beds, though they lie sick in them; but these dishonest and unmannerly factions are the pleasant fruits of heretics and the necessary effects of their filthy gospel. Certain also of these worthy justices in their sessions for credit's sake, charge the people to raise hue and cry after Catholics when they see them abroad, and to shoot at them and kill them if they will not yield and be taken.

CHAPTER III.

EXAMINATIONS.

WHEN any priest or Catholic is apprehended and brought before the tyrant or his council, this is the ordinary usage by railing, arrogant and foolish speeches to abuse them. The whole desire, intent, and drift of these blood-suckers is by some question to entrap him and bring him within danger of their impious statutes that they may murder him. Sometimes they will provoke him to impatience, that in some heat of choler he may overshoot himself in words which they fail not to catch hold upon with advantage; sometimes by fair flattery to allure him to utter some hurtful and dangerous words to himself and others. Sometimes they ask twenty impertinent and bye questions, and among them craftily foist in some pernicious demand, that he answering securely to that which is impertinent may at unawares be entangled in that which is pernicious. Sometimes they terrify the simple with threats and oaths to make them answer to all their demands. Of late, it is a usual question with them to ask whose part we will take and fight against if the Pope should invade this realm; for they vehemently dread that he will be their bane, and that their most arrogant and shameful apostasy from him their Supreme Pastor on earth will end miserably and fall out in short time to their destruction. By this interrogatory they have great hope to entrap within the compass of their treasonable statutes the timorous consciences of the simple, which never intended to offend either Queen or Pope, and when that occasion should befall, would be most careful and provident to perform the duty of a true Christian subject, though at unawares they cannot safely answer to such pestiferous questions of future and

uncertain events without great danger to offend God, their own consciences, or their two superiors. If we answer not to these questions, then without law they condemn us for traitors; if we answer Christianlike, that if these things happen we will do as it shall please God to put in our minds, yet are we traitors. If we answer any otherwise than in their own railing and uncharitable words we are still murdered as traitors; and briefly, they are so insatiably thirsty for our blood, that in every word or interrogatory they lay a snare to bring us within the danger of their tyrannous statutes, for that they may have some show of matter thereupon to frame an indictment of treason against us. For they perceiving that our troubles, persecutions, and martyrdoms for the ancient Catholic faith (for which only they hate us and we suffer their tyranny to most extreme deaths) doth win them no credit nor friends at all, but internally much alienateth men's affections from them and their bloody gospel, and moveth them to consider more deeply of their Christian duties to the Catholic Church and religion for the which they behold many constantly to give their lives; they perceiving this, I say, bend themselves to this ancient, ethnic [heathen], and heretical policy, to smother our true cause of religion with deceitful ashes of their own treasonable forgeries, foolishly imagining this malicious fraud to be so cunningly conveyed that none can espy it. But God be thanked, their treacherous dealings in this sort are so palpable and apparent to most men that only extreme fear of their tyrannical regiment withholdeth them to show their concealed good wills, though not to wish and expect daily for occasion of liberty to save their own souls, and to revenge the unjust oppressions and deaths of their dearest Catholic friends. If by no subtle shift they can snatch hold to halter us, then rail they against our religion and sometimes dispute after the wrangling fashion of ignorant and irreligious apostatas, prating blasphem-

ously at their pleasure, without all shame and honesty belying us and our faith, impudently denying any truth and obstinately affirming any falsehood. The tyrant also himself with high conceit of his own wit and knowledge much delighteth to dispute with the simple Catholic. His rhetoric and skill consisteth most in vain-glorious ruffling and railing against the Catholic faith, and in arrogant controlling the whole known Church of Christ in everything which his incredulous head cannot conceive; and when he cannot prevail with flattery, threats, or heretical sophisms to pervert us, then he propoundeth this strong tyrannical argument, or rather his insoluble conclusion, upon no reasonable premisses, "Away with him to the Castle, lay irons on him, he is not the Queen's friend, he is a traitor," &c.

CHAPTER IV.

SPIRITUAL MURDER.

IN another thing also he proveth himself to be not only a most wicked and malicious limb of Satan, but also a most injurious and a violent tyrant. For not only, as I have said, he laboureth to pervert men in faith, and when he can espy advantage murder them for pretended treasons but also he tyrannizeth over their consciences in this impious sort, first to compel and force them by threats and punishments to go with him to his heretical church, though he well know it to be against their consciences; and secondly, when he is neither able to confute by reasons the meanly learned Catholics in their faith, nor persuade any of them to take liking of his sect, nor to remove the simpler sort from their forefathers' ancient Catholic religion to consent with him in his new heresies, then he endeavoureth to bring them to his master the devil, by forcing them to commit this schismatical act of going to

church contrary to their own consciences, which witness it to be unlawful, and a heinous sin of damnable schism, to participate with heretics in any religious act or ceremony. If he obtain thus much of any Catholic, though he manifestly seeth it to be done dissemblingly, for fear, and not for any good love or liking of his religion and church newly erected by the temporal politics and their profane authority against the true religion and Church of God, yet he much glorieth in this spiritual murder, and greatly vaunteth in so damnable a victory, and though in some part he remit his fury against such dissembling and hollow-hearted schismatics upon their revolt, yet most deadly rancour hath so taken root in his heart against them, that unless they also receive with him his bready idol, and become as malicious in heretical zeal as himself, he never ceaseth to frown upon them, and watch some opportunity to work them displeasures. . . .

CHAPTER V.

PRISONS.

IF I should declare all the cruelties we sustain in prisons, I should extend my labour to over long a work; for assure yourself that the tyrant's brutish malice hath neither end nor measure in afflicting those whom he hath caught within his reach. The gaolers be either his own men, which after long service he promoteth to this prowling office, otherwise, as you know, not being well able to give them preferment of his own; or else some hot familiar of this Puritan congregation, which either be impoverished by round courtesies lent him in his insatiable need, he in this sort requiteth and raiseth up again, or else, being fallen into miserable beggary, he thus maintaineth by pilling and robbing. And he is very

provident and wary that these fellows want no prisoners, but specially Catholics, whose just complaints against most unjust extortioners cannot be heard. For more certainty of this pillage, he hath ordained new fees in the Castle of York; that besides the gaoler's own continual prowling at his pleasure, these fees may be demanded as due, and by the tyrant's authority. At the first committing and entry every Catholic yeoman payeth 10*s.* for fetters, every gentleman 20*s.*, every esquire 40*s.* Amongst gentlemen, for this gain, they number priests, though in other usage they esteem them with the worst. Then for fees, a yeoman payeth 26*s.* 8*d.*; a gentleman, 4 marks. Then for weekly diet, a yeoman payeth 6*s.* 8*d.* or 8*s.* 4*d.*; a gentleman at his table, 10*s.* 4*d.* or 13*s.* 4*d.* Which orders this malignant tyrant, with his council and Mr. Sands, the pretended bishop, have appointed for to spoil us. Which orders Mr. Sands hath reported since that they were first made only to terrify the Papists, and not with intent to be at any time exacted. Very few Catholics are of ability to bear the charges of their table for weekly diet, wherefore to compound with the gaolers both at York and Hull they pay them some unreasonable chamber-rents, that they may make and provide their own commons; except they be in Dearman's, the pursuivant's gaol, where the housewife, being once before married to a priest, exacts what she lists, without any favour or mitigation, how poorly soever abilities serve us. The furious woman, if she hath not her own will and desire in everything she asketh, will withhold meat and drink by three or four days together; nay, and except we yield to her, she will[1] feed us continually with bread and water, and that in great scarcity. It were an infinite labour to write the wickedness of this woman towards all in her custody, therefore I will let it go, and return again to the other gaolers.

1 "She will scale feed us." *Orig.*

The weekly chamber-rents I spoke of are in the poorest 12*d.*, in others 16*d.*, in others 20*d.*, in others 2*s.*, 3*s.* 4*d.*, or 4*s.*, we ourselves providing all necessaries; and as many pestered into every chamber as it will receive, by reason of which throng and straitness oftentimes infectious sicknesses do reign amongst us. These gaolers being purposely placed over us to enrich themselves by as many prowling shifts as they can devise to impoverish and rob us, have liberty without restraint to work their own gain. And therefore they invent an hundred shifts of extortion, as the two keepers in Hull take a portion of every Catholic because they will not be at their diet, then another sum for buying their victuals, and yet a third, which is to pay 6*d.* or 8*d.* for that which cost in the market 4*d.*; yea, and yet another for cooking it, besides that the cooks for dressing every dish must of courtesy lick their fingers. It were over long to write what treacheries and malicious stratagems have been devised against the Catholic prisoners in that town, as by extreme and long famine, by debarring them of all necessaries at the keeper's furious will, and twice or thrice by poisoning their water, which was procured and done by the ministers and other heretics of that place, and discovered by the carriers, which, though they were also heretics, yet abhorred to see good and innocent men so villanously murdered. But who think you was the broker of these villanies? Who more likely than the tyrant himself, who one day sitting on the bench in Hull, when he gave sentence of death against a distracted Catholic (as the keeper publicly confessed at the bar), for writing of a letter to the Queen, wherein he admonished her to amend her life, because she should die at New Year's day following, said openly to the keeper, "It were more worthy to hang thee than this Papist, for if thou hadst been an honest man or a true subject, all the Papists in thy custody had been despatched ere this day." By which

speeches, and his other bloody practices against us, it plainly appeareth that this tyrant's hands were defiled with those and other poisonful treacheries, though the inferior keepers, either detesting, or not willing to forego their daily gain reaped by our lives, would not at his commandment contrive our deaths. At York I cannot learn that he practised any such thing as yet. And why so, think you? Is not perhaps his deadly rancour extended to all the Catholics there? No man need doubt but that his tyrannous malice is in will the same everywhere, and never restrained from bloody effects, but either by superior authority within some part keepeth back his fury, or else by some vicious affection which overruleth him for the time, as it doth over the gaoler of the castle and Dearman the pursuivant; for it is probably thought that both he and Meares, and others also of their council, receive no small fruits of both these gaols. The gaoler being as ready to requite their courtesies for committing many prisoners, as also to procure that with a bribe, or some favourable supply, when they have need to borrow; and this money, being gotten by their favours and means, is perhaps not so wholly to be accounted the gaoler's that they should in reason be excluded from a good portion thereof, or unworthy to detain as their own all which the gaolers lend them. Notwithstanding the gaolers repine thereat, and to their friends secretly complain of such evil debtors; as Burley, the tyrant's man, and last gaoler of the Castle of York, was much accustomed to do, and with open mouth cry out against the tyrant when amongst his pots he called to mind his debt; and Meverell also, the ignorant Puritan, once soldier at Berwick, where as men say, for his free heart in lending money to the tyrant and his familiars, with Sir Robert Bowes and others, and for his hot spirit in Puritanism, was preferred to the same office after Burley, to recover again upon Catholics his losses sustained by those debtors. [He] used much to

complain for want of prisoners, and say he would return again his office upon my lord, unless more prisoners were committed; and that he hoped to have his house fully stuffed at the tyrant's coming down. This hope in the tyrant's cruelty deceived him not, for since his coming into these countries, which was September last, he hath filled the prisons with Catholics, and hath wonderfully raged to show his unseemly authority of lieutenantship. And this is his deep policy, to terrify the country upon any light suspicion, surmise, or colour of matter, to apprehend Catholics or schismatics, to imprison them, and without cause to detain and keep them still in his paws, as though he had dangerous matters wherewith to charge them. In prisons we are shut up close, and by his commandment so charily looked to, that none can have any access to us, or speak with us, but in the audience of the gaolers. Thieves, murderers, pirates, and all other sorts of malefactors enjoy all liberties which the tyrant denyeth us; the cause, no doubt, he more hateth the Catholic faith in us than he doth others' theft, murder, piracy, or the like, in all which he hath showed favour and mercy to some; and yet was he never favourable, but malicious and unmerciful towards us, these crimes perhaps not being so strange nor loathsome to his vicious mind, infected with the same diseases and unjust tyranny, as is the Catholic faith and religion, which detecteth and reproveth all his treacheries. If he can learn of any that relieve us in prisons, he picketh some troublesome quarrel against them, and revileth them as maintainers of the Queen's enemies and traitors, for so they call us. And they prove it ordinarily, as Ramsdayne, the Puritan and false archdeacon, did of late to a friend of ours, with whom he found the common prayer for the Pope, *Deus fidelium pator*, &c. "You are the Queen's enemies," quoth Ramsdayne. "We are not," quoth our friend. "I prove it," quoth Ramsdayne, "thus. None that prayeth for

the Queen's enemies are the Queen's friends; but you Papists pray for the Pope, which is the Queen's enemy, for this is your prayer, so you are not the Queen's friends, but her enemies, and traitors." So that by this fellow's divinity Christ's precept of charity, whereby we are commanded to pray for our enemies and persecutors, is treason, and to be rejected as false; and consequently none can be friends to the Queen that will obey Christ.

It were extreme madness to believe these men to have the true Christian religion when we see them in doctrine so plain contrary to Christ, and not only the simple and ignorant, but also they that be the chiefest pillars and most vaunt of the purity of this new sect, to bring forth so plentiful fruits of malice against Christians, or any other creatures, as they do continually with great praise and the approbation of all their synagogue. For besides all which hitherto I have said, and, moreover, that there is not one Protestant, or Puritan, or other sectary, yea, or schismatic almost, that will do any one work of charity to us in our needs and extremities, either in prisons or abroad, yet they all so much envy and heart eat the good and relief which they see us have or to be given us, that they raise odious outcries and exclamations when we receive victuals from charitable people. And sometimes they examine, apprehend, and search the carriers, as Meverell hath done some; the malicious Puritan hoping by this barbarous diligence to have the same committed to his gaol. And sometimes also the furious sheriffs and craftsmen in the city (which to please the tyrant pass the bounds of all humanity and Christian charity) do the like towards the Catholics on the bridge,[1] yea, and violently take from them their victuals sent from friends, and distribute it to the felons, which violent and most shameless parts practised by these new uncharitable Gospellers

[1] The Kidcote or city prison on Ousebridge in York.

against us has caused the restraint of almost all necessary relief from our friends abroad.

The tyrant hath yet another way to poll us, whereby we get some little ease, though it be to our great cost. This is to grant to some of his familiars, as to gaolers, pursuivants, promoters, and bankrupts, the delivery or bailment of some one or other Catholic, that these companions may sell us our liberty of one quarter or half a year for 10*l.* or 20*l.*, which sum they that are of ability and have urgent affairs abroad are forced to give for so short a time rather than to incur greater losses by staying in prison. But this charitable courtesy is not often showed by the tyrant, his deadly malice and thirst of our destruction overruling that vicious passion of unjust liberality.

To be short, all these hot Puritans and heretics run upon us for revenge for their griefs and misfortunes, snatching hold of every trifling word and occasion as sufficient matter to afflict us. But you would less marvel of these exactions towards us if you heard what colourable pilling and extortion the tyrant and his council use in the country, as collecting gross sums of money to build a common hall in the castle-yard, and after that another mass through the whole shire to build the castle bridge, after which small works left imperfect and unfinished, the remanent sum how much soever he would make it miscarry in his bottomless purse, and never come to light; as also taxing none or small offences with unreasonable great fines and penalties. For one suffered a long half year's imprisonment, and was fined to pay them 20*l.* for saying that Meares would take bribes, as also exacting in the country new fines, and inducing strange and unusual customs for his own private lucre, for either all or else a great part of the fines and forfeitures are his own; or if a portion belong to the Queen, [it] passeth through his hands, for which cause he is most vigilant

and careful that neither true faults nor surmised crimes escape unfined. And touching Meares, the tyrant's councillor, I myself have heard some credible gentlemen say that they feed him yearly with 10*l.* or 20 marks, for promising to protect their wives from this unjust trouble for their conscience. This man's affection to bribes, where he may have them covertly, is so thoroughly known, that in good sooth poor Robert Freer, of Ripon, was very unjustly condemned to pay 20*l.* fine for defaming him of this notorious vice, which all the country knoweth perfectly to reign in him, and would say as much as Freer did if they feared not the like success as Freer had. These two are the chiefest in authority here, which in this sort oppress us and pester the country. By them you may probably conjecture what imps the rest be which endeavour to imitate perfectly the tyrant in all injustice and raging zeal, knowing this the only way here to rise to credit and preferment, which is the only mark they shoot at.

CHAPTER VI.

ARRAIGNMENTS.

IT is very difficult to write what injuries we suffer in our arraignments, which are altogether unjust and tyrannical, unless I should make relation of many several and particular arraignments, which thing I cannot do at this time so largely, yet I will briefly touch some shameful parts, that you may not be altogether ignorant of our state in this point. As I said before, the tyrant and his complices are most diligent by their examinations, to circumvent and entrap us in some matter of State that we may be prosecuted and made away, rather for surmised enmity and treasons to Cæsar than as true Christians for our constancy in the Catholic religion. Out of these examinations, and their unjust dealings

with us, they forge some colourable matter, whereupon they frame indictments to bring us, at least apparently, within the danger of their new statutes, and then are we sure to be murdered. And though these new statutes be most tyrannical and of purpose decreed with cruel rigour for our destruction, against the ancient laws of this realm, (whereby not only our Catholic faith was maintained, but also their heresies repressed as much as was necessary for defence and government of Christ's Church, so long as it only without any heretical synagogue bore sway in England), yet their malice is so great and deadly that impudently they deny us the small benefit which the statutes grant us, neither will they permit that we discuss them, or plead for only just defence their own laws unjustly made against us, for the tyrant hath plainly said that no Papist in England should have that right at his hands in any matter which law would give him. And for his performance of this word, you have heard, I daresay, how he abused Mr. Leonard Babthorpe, the counsellor, and Mr. Launder, the attorney, for pleading law in their Catholic wives' behalfs. First, he committed them both to prison, then lightened their purses with an unreasonable fine, then deprived them of the whole practice in law to their undoings, then in most villanous manner disgraced one upon the pillory, and yet ceaseth not to persecute them as maliciously as he is able; for this the tyrant's nature to be implacable where he hath once conceived offence or displeasure, though it be without just cause, and to pursue till death such as he may overrun, though he be most cowardish and hen-hearted to encounter his equal. All the Catholics in these parts, yea, and many schismatical dissemblers also, which have had occasion of suits before him, can witness how his heavy malice to them for their Catholic faith at all times overswayed the equity of their causes to make judgment proceed against them, unless before

he gave sentence they removed their causes to the courts at London, which thing if any do it vexeth him wonderfully, for he perceiveth this to be some reproach to him, and he would be accounted just and worthy of credit in all matters. Besides the tyrant and Meares, and Hurlstone and the other *stone* and others I named before, which persecute us as partly I have showed, there be also many more which are companions and fellows with them in murdering us, as of late since the wicked statutes were enacted against priests and their harbourers, the Lord Evers, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir William Mallory, all three vice-presidents at divers gaol-deliveries in the tyrant's absence at the assizes, Judge Clinche, Sergeant Rhodes, &c., and at every turn one arrogant heretic called Birkhead, the Queen's attorney. Until summer last we were greatly injured and persecuted by a malicious Puritan called Cheeke, who was here secretary to the tyrant and his council, and in the tyrant's absence ruled all. This persecutor (if we may conjecture anything by a miserable life and death, for he was suddenly smitten with a fit of raging madness, and after four or five days died in it), about midsummer received a just sentence of damnation for his unjust murdering many virtuous Catholic priests and lay people. Many more also there be as unconscionable jurors picked forth and of purpose kept at hand to give what verdict the tyrant, Meares, &c., will require them. When they intend to make us away, the tyrant himself seldom of late hath sitten on the bench to condemn us, but some of his vice-presidents with Meares, Hurlstone, and others, working all mischief against us according to his will and direction.

At the gaol-delivery before Christmas last,[1] Anno Dni., 1585, Elizabeth 28° (for I will let pass all the priests and

[1] This passage fixes the date of this narration as before Christmas, 1586. The latest event mentioned in it is the martyrdom of Richard Langley, December 1, 1586.

Catholics murdered before this time by the tyrant), they executed one priest as traitor, named Mr. Hugh Taylor, taken by the Lord Evers, when he searched a Catholic man's house. This martyr was the first that suffered here since the statutes. They alleged no other matter against him but that he was a seminary priest, and for this they put [him] to a traitor's death. At this time also they murdered a secular gentleman called Mr. Bowes,[2] for harbouring the same priest long before he was apprehended in another man's house. The Lord Evers sitting as vice-president with Meares, Hurlstone, Cheeke, and the rest, this Mr. Bowes was arraigned, and evidence was produced against him by one schoolmaster only. This fellow being a Catholic taught Mr. Bowes his children, and was apprehended travelling in the Bishopric, as I remember, by John Barnes, brother to the false bishop, about Whitsunday last before. The heretics by cruel usage caused him to forsake his faith, and to accuse as many Catholics as he knew. And after his apostasy from God and His Church, he accused Mr. Bowes for harbouring Mr. Taylor, priest. Mr. Bowes being arraigned, this apostata's word was judged by our wise benchers testimony sufficient enough against him, though this schoolmaster was but one, and for fear had forsaken before men his faith, and was reported to the bench and known to be of very evil fame, and that both for fear and lucre he was ready to affirm or deny whatsoever they would desire (as Mr. Bowes offered to prove by the general and whole consent, record and report of neighbours which had long known him), yet their malice was so great against him, and they so vehemently thirsted for his blood, that no insufficiency in the witness could take place, but in anywise they would have the gentleman's life, judging it to be convenient and necessary for the politic maintaining of

[2] For Lady Babthorpe's account of the martyrdom of Marmaduke Bowes, see *Troubles*, First Series, p. 244.

their tyrannical state that now and then they murder some, though unjustly, for the terrifying of the country. Yet this cruel fact was loathsome and horrible to the country, most men murmuring that this honest gentleman's life should be thus shamefully taken away for the testimony of one infamous person, and faithless apostata.

After this, at Lent Assizes, the Lord Evers, Meares, Hurlstone, Cheeke, &c., of the malignant council, apprehended a gentlewoman called Mrs. Margaret Clitherow, citizen of York, upon surmise that she harboured priests, and through fear and threats constrained a Flemish boy about eleven years old to affirm that she had received one or two; they took it for sufficient proof, resolved to suck her blood, and caused her to be arraigned before Judge Clinche, Rhodes, and themselves. This happy martyr knowing her cause to be so just and godly, that neither any human law could justly reprove it, nor any profane judge be competent by any pretence of equity to deal against her for her religious works and Christian duty, and moreover, perceiving that all the jurors should be guilty of her blood, if by their unlawful verdict she were condemned, as she knew Meares and the rest of the council would have it done, refused common trial of the country, and referred the whole matter to the judges themselves. These men perceiving the council's inclination and resolution to murder her, and either hoping by these means to aspire to credit, or else fearing to fall in some disgrace with the rulers in the State if they justly dismissed her, took the cause into their own hands, and upon that boy's extorted testimony, found her guilty of death, and adjudged her to the death of pressing because she refused ordinary trial. And although the boy's testimony was of no force by law to prove her guilty of death, nor her refusal of common trial without sufficient proof of the fact or trespass could by the common law of the land bring her to the death of pressing, which refusal the

judges and council (either ignorantly or guilefully reported to be by law a just cause of death, though there were no crime at all committed), yet were the unjust and corrupt judges drawn into this shameful murder, by the continual suits and outcries of Meares, Cheeke, Hurlstone, &c., which hereby intended to justify and to make seem just their own murdering of Mr. Bowes, which Rhodes reported as unjust, because they condemned him by the testimony of one infamous person only, contrary to the order of the common law. For in respect of this done by the judges through their instigation against Mrs. Clitherow, the other against Mr. Bowes hath great show of justice, as proceeding upon the testimony of one wicked man, yet a man, and this upon the testimony of a Flemish boy. I need not to stay long in this matter, to show their malice and unjust dealings against this blessed woman, for that a friend of ours[1] hath written at large both her virtuous life and their most shameful proceedings against her, how the judge Clinche and Rhodes, contrary to common law and practice, admitted the Flemish child's testimony as sufficient and lawful against her. Again, how they condemned her to death of pressing, only, as they said, for refusing ordinary trial, which they said also to be just cause of that death, though no sufficient evidence could be produced to convince her guilty of the crime, directly contrary to the statute West. *cap.* 13, *anno* 3° Edw. I., and to judge Stamford's learned exposition of it in his "Pleas of the Crown," *folio* 110. Again, how unjustly they presumed that since the statute she harboured seminary priests, upon these reasons: first, because she was a notorious Catholic, because the boy named two priests which had been there as he said, as though these things had been by any reason or law sufficient to control general presumption, which is that

[1] The life of Margaret Clitherow was written by her director, Mr. John Mush.

everyone will the best provide for himself he can, and that way whereby least danger may ensue, which common presumption always standeth good by their own law until the contrary be plainly and evidently proved, as by these reasons it never could be in ordinary dealing. And again, how she, being a young woman, about thirty years old, and conversant until that day with her husband, these judges denied her the privilege of her condition, after herself doubted whether she were with child or not, and lastly how their barbarous cruelty raged against her until her death, and after also. All which things our said friend hath set down more at large, as you may read. Against this holy martyr, Rhodes, Cheeke, Meares, and Hurlstone, and the rest, in the heat of their raging spirits, railed wonderfully, sitting on the bench, reviling and slandering her approved honesty, meaning thereby to make her and the Catholic cause odious to the people. But, God be thanked, she was known to be of that rare virtue, that their impudence turned to her great glory, discovered their own filthy and vicious disposition, everyone judging them to vaunt their own malice according to the abundance of their own infected and loathsome humours.

After Whitsunday next following, at the gaol-delivery, Sir Thomas Fairfax, vice-president, Cheeke, Hurlstone, and the rest, arraigned Mr. Francis Ingleby,[1] condemned and murdered him as a traitor, because he was a priest of Rheims. With him they used much guileful dealing, that they might entangle him with an oath to disclose in what Catholic men's houses he had been harboured, but they could not deceive him. When he was about to speak anything, they stopped him with railing and blasphemies, overthwarting him in every word, and

[1] Francis was the fourth son of Sir William Ingleby of Ripley. Peacock's *List of Roman Catholics in the County of York in* 1604, p. 48. He suffered at York, June 3, 1586.

interrupting him by one frivolous question upon another, that before he had answered two words to one matter, they came upon him with another, insomuch that many noted how they would not suffer him to make a perfect end of any one sentence; which barbarous dealing is a special point of their policy, for they cannot abide that the people should hear us speak any word, either in defence or manifestation of our Catholic cause, or of their sacrilegious tyranny, wherewith they no less fraudulently undo the whole country, than they unjustly oppress us. And this they practise chiefly against such as either have any good quality of knowledge and utterance, or otherwise are descended of good kindred, or are well accounted of and beloved among the people. But if they perceive a man to want such qualities as may commend him to the people, or to have anything whereby he may be made odious or contemptible to the vulgar sort, which judge according to external show and appearance of natural imperfections and extern[al] not a man's internal graces and virtues, then in their scornful mocking, gibing, railing, and slanderous humours they bait him one after another, and when they are weary of baiting against him, they give him the deadly blow, which they had determined before he was arraigned.

If a priest have any priestlike apparel, as cassock, gown, cap, &c., they rage [against] him like madmen, and never cease until these garments be taken from him, and the secular garments in which he was apprehended be put on. If you would see in them a fit of malicious fury it is motive strong enough to let a priest come before them wearing a cassock, a gown, or a cap, or having his crown shaven; the very sight of these things confoundeth them, as sacrilegious parricides, and guilty of innocent blood, which crime as they imagine is something shadowed, or at least doth not move the senses so vehemently to perceive their own ugly shame

by wearing secular apparel. And again, they imagine in this disguised attire that priests are neither so revered nor esteemed of with the rude people as they would be in their clergy weed, nor their own foul murders to seem so impious to the people, when priests are murdered in apparel not like priests', as they would do if they were clothed in such wise as their profession requireth. At these arraignments little is spoken against us, but one reviling word or other flieth with all.

At Lammas assizes following for want of priests they arraigned divers Catholic prisoners, being determined to murder some of them, for at every gaol-delivery and assize it is their policy to murder either Catholic priest or lay person, as well to keep their hands in use with blood-shedding as to terrify the country from the Catholic faith. At this time, therefore, they arraigned one Mrs. Anne Tesh,[1] whom they had apprehended at the same time when they did apprehend Mrs. Clitherow, intending in this drift of time to find out some colourable matter against her to make her away; for they often searched her house and straitly imprisoned her servants, to extort anything whereupon they might have show of a just indictment. The Flemish boy accused her, as Cheeke said, to have heard Mass in Mrs. Clitherow's house, whereupon they sent for her, and in her presence asked the boy if he knew that woman. He said, "No." "Then," quoth Cheeke, "this is Mrs. Tesh, thou knowest her well enough." The boy stood amazed, answering nothing. "No marvel," quoth Mrs. Tesh, "if he know me now, after you have told him who I am." At this arraignment Hurlstone, Rhodes, and the rest railed

[1] In 1596 Mrs. Anne Tesh and Mrs. Bridget Maskew were condemned to be burnt alive,—the punishment of high treason in the case of a woman. They were reprieved, and remained in York Castle as long as Queen Elizabeth lived. George Errington, William Knight, William Gibson, and Henry Abbot, who were condemned at the same time, were executed Nov. 29, 1596. Lady Babthorpe tells the story of the cause of this martyrdom. *Troubles*, First Series, p. 243. Three of the names are supplied by Bishop Challoner.

shamefully against her with many dishonest speeches, charged her that she had harboured priests, and openly said to the jury (according to their impudent iniquity), "Find her guilty;" which yet they did not for harbouring any priest, but upon the boy's words and a little girl's, about twelve years of age, they condemned her in a hundred marks for hearing Mass, and the bench said, "If we live to the next assizes for we will have thee found guilty harbouring priests." They arraigned also one layman, called Francis Hemsworth, whom they had kept many years prisoner in the Castle for his Catholic faith, purposing now to despatch him, because he had answered directly to the interrogatories about the supremacy, &c.; but upon this occasion they let him pass at this time.

They had apprehended a Catholic young man, called Robert Bickerdike, more than a year before, for being seen in company with a priest. This young man had many malicious merchants of York his enemies, for he had served as 'prentice there, and was known to be Catholicly affected. Amongst which was one Brooke, and Andrew Trewe, two as malicious as ignorant Puritans. By the means and envious procurement of these and their complices, he was at his first taking arraigned in the Common Hall in York, and indicted for aiding the priest, because they were seen drink together, and the heretics surmised that this young man paid for the pot of ale, which they thought was matter sufficient to hang him. Also he was then indicted for saying to an heretical 'prentice, which with vehement fury railed against him and the Catholics, calling them traitors, that he might now say his pleasure, for the sap is, quoth he, with Catholics in the root of the tree, but it may perhaps ascend upwards towards Michaelmas, and then he would use no such railing words; meaning only hereby (as himself said) that in this prosperous time with heretics they might say and do what they listed, but

if God should send a Catholic time, heretics' tongues would be stabled [stopped].

The jury did requite [acquit] and clear him of all these things, and so he was committed to prison again only as a recusant, until this Lammas assizes, when they arraigned him afresh, for the Puritans' malice could not be quenched without his blood. At this time, therefore, Clinche and Rhodes, sitting as judges on the bench, asked him of the former points. He answered that he had been cleared of them by a jury in that place a year before. Then they asked him whose part he would take if the Pope should invade the realm. He said he could not tell before what he would do in time to come. "But," quoth he, "I will do as it shall please God to put me in mind;" for which words they railed and called him traitor, and thereupon indicted him. The [jury] perceiving this apparent injury and malice in both the wicked judges, and also in the merchants, which, for want of true crime or trespass already committed by the young man, would so impudently by their deceitful and bloody demand entangle him with some offensive matter, cleared him of all, and upon their oaths and consciences gave their verdict for his innocency, saying, "Not guilty." At which thing they all stormed and said he should not escape them so. And Birkhead, the Queen's Attorney, said he would frame new indictment against him, whereupon they removed him to the Castle (for until that time he was prisoner on the bridge).

Being arraigned again in the Castle, and indicted upon the same articles whereof he was acquitted before, Rhodes said to the jury, "This traitor had too favourable and too scrupulous a jury in the town, but I trust," quoth he, "you will look otherwise to him, being the Queen's enemy and a notorious traitor." Upon which daily Rhodes' and Birkhead's earnest pursuit, the jury forthwith found him guilty of high treason. When he was about to speak any-

thing, Rhodes and Birkhead made outcries against him, saying, "Behold how treason bloweth forth of his mouth, hear not the traitor, away with the traitor;" and yet all the country well perceived that his words had no resemblance of treason, or could justly be any offence to Queen or subject. But, for want of just matter, these heretics oppressed this just man with these railing slanders and odious speeches, and shed his innocent blood.[1]

By reason of this murder, Francis Hemsworth[2] escaped at this time, but yet was he shut up in prison again, as store for another day. All the country was amazed to see this young man so unjustly made away, and some gentlemen being in company with Rhodes before he departed from Yorkshire, asked him whether the young man's answer that, "he would do in time to come as it should please God to put in his mind," was treason by any statute and law, or no. Which demand Rhodes took in great dudgeon, and said, "You do us no less injury than the traitor did at the bar when he asked us the same question. We are not sent hither to scan and dispute the statutes, but to give judgment against offenders." Thus was the wicked man offended to have his dealings sifted, thinking all to run around, so long as in a flourish of false and railing words he might cover his great iniquity, swaying wholly with the time to work any mischief he list devise against God's Church, and not remembering how very shortly all his wickedness must be detected and searched to the bottom by the most just Judge, to whose eye every guileful deed and thought lieth open.

At the gaol-delivery following, which was this last November, anno 1586, sat on the bench Sir William Mallory, Meares, Hurlstone, Dr. Gibson, &c. They had apprehended a little before Mr. Alexander Crowe, [made] priest at

[1] Robert Bickerdike suffered at York, October 8, 1586.

[2] In 1604, "Jane the wife of Francis Hymsworth, a notorious recusant," was living at Sherburne, "maintained for seven years last by Agnes Rawson." Peacock, pp. 23, 24.

Rheims, whom they kept in double fetters amongst the felons from his first apprehension, until the time he was hauled to martyrdom. They arraigned him, and after they had railed at their pleasures, mocked and contemned him, and made him odious to the people after their fashion by lies and slanders, they condemned him of high treason, for being a Catholic priest of Rheims. He had caused his crown to be shaven before his arraignment, which the bench perceiving at his departure was cast into a furious pang [passion] against the Puritan gaoler, as though he had permitted it to be done of purpose. This martyr they executed upon St. Andrew's day, late at night.[1] He was very sick before his arraignment until his martyrdom, and, being upon the ladder, he fell from it in a swoon, upon which casualty the heretics raised a slander, saying he would have killed himself. They took him up and hanged him a little, and in most cruel manner ripped him alive.

At this time also they had apprehended Mr. Richard Langley,[2] a gentleman well in years, who had lived in the country with very great love and worshipful credit, a man of approved honesty, wisdom, and sobriety, and well qualified in all virtues. The tyrant sent, upon Simon and Jude's even, divers of his young heretical justices and ministers to search this gentleman's two houses, one distant a mile from the other. The justices' names were Gates, Boynton [?] Hussey [?], &c., with Ramsdayne, the licentious archdeacon, Wright, the minister, Francis Wood, an ungracious heretic and spendthrift, who with Ramsdayne first broached this matter,

[1] Dr. Challoner gives as the date of the martyrdom of Alexander Crow from a "manuscript in his hands by one who knew him," November 30, 1586. That this is the correct date our Yorkshire recusant clearly shows, though Yepez, Wilson, Molanus, Raissius, and Champney say 1587; but these cannot be considered independent authorities.

[2] Bishop Challoner has no information respecting this martyr, except that he was born at Grinthorpe in Yorkshire. Richard Langley of Owsthorpe, near Pocklington, and probably also of Rathorpe Hall in Dalton, married Agnes, daughter of Richard Hansby of Malton, and had a son Christopher, who married Ursula Rudstone.

with many other lewd companions and ministers. At one house they found two priests, and carried them with Mr. Langley to the tyrant at York. After he had rolled in his furious and heretical arrogance awhile, he committed the two priests and Mr. Langley to the Castle. These priests, with another they found there out of Bishopric, finding convenient way and opportunity, made their escape and fled again to feed their flocks. Mr. Langley was arraigned (for the tyrant having promised and, as men say, given his letters to Mr. Langley's brother that he should be reprieved unto Lent assizes following), guilefully underhand sent commandment to Mallory, Meares, &c., to execute him without delay. He was condemned without any proof or evidence against him, that he knew them for Seminary priests, and was executed the 1st of December.

The heretics much abused this gentleman at the bar, with railing and uncourteous speeches. At his first coming into the hall to be arraigned, he knelt down and asked Mr. Crowe the priest, his blessing. He said that he would never repent that he had harboured priests, and that they were the messengers of God, but rather was sorry that he had not harboured more and oftener than he had done; also that he thanked God that he might die for so good a cause. He would not make suit to the tyrant nor the Privy Council for his life in this cause, which sentence grieved the tyrant and his complices exceedingly, insomuch that they altered the jury, which was first impanelled of his honest neighbours, fearing these would deal favourably and justly, and instead of them appointed such as they knew would work their desire to murder him, as they did.

In all arraignments, as well of Catholic priests as lay people, they labour much to alter our Catholic cause into some matter of State, and though their statutes against Catholic priests and their harbourers be manifestly impious and unjust, and yet extremely executed by them, yet are they so ashamed of the execution of these the wicked laws

(the like never being practised before but by infidels and heretics against God's Church), that themselves abhor the cruelty of them, and are unwilling that the country should perceive their dealings, for which causes they would seem and make the simple believe that none of us is murdered for the Catholic faith and religion, but the priests for treason and their harbourers for maintaining of traitors. As though to be a Catholic priest were to be a traitor, and to receive them could be an act of felony by any just law or reason. To persuade the people thus, and to cover the foulness of their treacheries against innocent Catholics, they never cease bawling out and crying when we stand arraigned before them that we be traitors, that we be enemies to the Queen, &c. And notwithstanding all their cruelty and these slanderous exclamations, the whole country is persuaded of our innocency, and that in truth we be neither enemies nor traitors to Queen, country, or good men, but only to the devil and heresy, and so disposed towards these ungracious heretics that with all our hearts we wish and pray for their conversion and not their hurt in any respect; which true persuasion entereth more deeply in the hearts of men, because they plainly see innocence murdered with furious tyranny against all right, reason, conscience, or charity, and our adversaries to deal with all guile, deceit, impudence, and barbarousness, not so zealous to execute justice, for the preservation of the realm and State, upon the traitors, thieves, murderers, pirates, and such like malefactors of their own heretical congregation, after trespasses be indeed committed, as they are furious without law and justice. In fine, no doubt but to the utter overthrow of public peace and the whole State, to compel and force the pernicious questions and demands, innocent Catholics do incur the dangers of their laws, and to make them offenders where they were none at all, but notwithstanding all this these high treasons and felonies are ever pardonable if we will consent to go to church.

CHAPTER VII.

EXECUTIONS.

AFTER unjust malice hath condemned us, the same still pursueth us in death with as much cruelty, violence, hatred, and barbarousness as it did at other times before. The time wherein they intend to murder us is kept as secret and unknown as may be, both from us and the people, and at unawares, when and where it is least looked for, they send the tormentors to make us away, ever choosing such times as the people will least suspect any such thing, or can make the smallest concourse to the place of execution. They condemned Mr. Hugh Taylor one Friday[1] with the felons, and within two or three hours after murdered him, and reserved the other condemned prisoners until Saturday. They also pressed Mrs. Clitherow, upon the feast of the Annunciation of our Blessed Lady, in the morning, in a close house, as obscurely as was possible. And upon St. Andrew's day, at night, they despatched Mr. Crowe. This policy to murder us secretly, and at unsuspected times, they use as well to take us unprovided, which they never can, we always standing prepared against them and not ignorant of their fraud, as also to hinder the people for being present at our deaths. For God be thanked, the constancy and fortitude of Catholics thus murdered for their faith and conscience worketh exceeding good to many, but specially to those which behold their gracious ends; for hereby they enter into consideration of their own estate, and judge it no trifles nor our religion so absurd as the heretics slander, for the which so many good and innocent people of all sorts with great joy and gladness give their lives. By the victory of one, many

[1] This fixes the day of his martyrdom as November 25, 1585, for the following day, which is that usually assigned, was Saturday.

weaklings are confirmed in their faith, and, where they quaked at every blast of persecution before, they now fear not to encounter the bloody adversary and stoutly to give their lives. Many also of their own heretical congregation, moved with our victories, return home amazed at the matter, and then become favourable or more indifferent towards the Catholic faith, or else renounce their erroneous, pleasant, licentious, and libertine gospel and become Catholics, with great disadvantage to their sects. The tyrant and his fellows, perceiving [this] to come by our constant deaths, labour to murder us as privily as they can devise. At the place of execution, in one thing above all others they detect their own wickedness and show themselves indeed to be the malicious hell-hounds of Satan, labouring to chase our souls into their ugly master's net, for the ministers are always ready placed there to molest and trouble us with their ignorant, railing, slanderous, blasphemous, and frivolous questions, disputations, accusations, and lies. They also with the gross Puritans and fantastical merchants and craftsmen, on every hand vexing us and crying that we be traitors, Papists, seductors, and Queen's enemies, in great despite mocking and slandering us, belying and blaspheming the Catholic faith, by which damnable means they also intend to murder our souls, that the moving us to impatience and disquietness of mind in our last agony may send us to their master, Satan, and so destroy not only our bodies but also our souls. But He that patiently sustained the like villanies of the Jews, hanging upon the Cross for our redemption and example, assisteth us with His grace, that in this hour our meekness, joy, and peace of heart are manifest, to the confusion of our adversaries and the godly edification of all charitable beholders. These heretics are also most jocund, pleasant, and glad if they can by any means get some little show and colour of evil matter, that we died not well, that any Christian may easily perceive them to be of his family

who rejoiceth in the miseries and damnation of Christian souls and envieth the well doing and gracious end of any. And to this end they have raised slanders of divers, that standing upon the ladder, ready to be cast from it, they hanged themselves, when either by faintness, sickness, slip of foot, or sudden stirring of the ladder, they fall down; but these slanders neither please nor take hold with any but such as have their heretical spirit open, and ready both to forge and to receive any impudent and malicious untruth against the innocent children of God, that, by lies and slanders, they may in their own conceit justify their treacheries against us. Much vexation also at this instant they make us, with their importunate cries to pray for the Queen, and to pray with them, and to confess our treasons and disloyalty to the prince. And commonly, in despite, they cast us from the ladder when we refused to pray with them and request the Catholics to pray with us, before we can make an end of a *Pater noster* or a *Creed.* Such as they make traitors they murder ordinarily with horrible cruelty, dismembering them and ripping them alive. They pressed Mrs. Clitherow naked. As for such as they make felons, they hang until they be dead, because their own law forbiddeth to use any other cruelty against felons. In all this time spies are set abroad to mark the countenances and behaviour of the bystanders, and to note if any be there which by word, gesture, or any other way seem favourable to us, lament our unjust deaths, or show any sign of charitable compassion towards us in our agony, or endeavour to get of our blood or other relics, for all such they apprehend as traitors and enemies to the Queen. Moreover, they use singular diligence and wariness in martyring us, that no part of blood, or flesh, or garment, or anything belonging to the martyr be either unburnt or escape their hands. The sacred blood they conculcate and cast into the fire. The apparel the murderers take and disperse, the pins, points, buttons, and all, lest Catholics

get them and use them for relics. They boil also the quarters in some filthy mixture, and the heads they bedaub with some black matter, to cause them to seem more loathsome and grizzly. Their malice was so great against Mr. Langley that they would not suffer him to have a winding-sheet, nor his body to be interred but among the thieves, putting him the undermost of twelve. All such as die in prisons they will not permit to be buried in churchyards, but in obscure and profane places, as dunghills. Mrs. Clitherow's body was buried beside a dunghill in the town, where it lay full six weeks without putrefaction, at which time it was secretly taken up by Catholics and carried on horseback a long journey, to a place where it rested six days unbowelled, before necessary preservatives could be gotten, all which time it remained without corruption or evil sàvour, and after was laid up as a worthy treasure until God redeem us out of the servitude and tyranny of these furious blood-suckers and send His peace again unto His Church, that then it may be kept with due honour.

Thus have I shown you part of our miseries and some tokens of their heretical malice, as the shortness of time and other businesses would permit me. But you will perhaps marvel why, in all this story, I make no mention of Mr. Sands, the old apostata and false archbishop, seeing he is well known to be as furious and unreasonable in all his doings as any other. I have not spoken of him because the tyrant (as I said in the beginning) is god, king, bishop, president, catchpoll and all in this country. He hath taken the persecution of the Catholics into his own hands, both because he feareth that Mr. Sands would deal more favourably with us, as also meaning hereby to overthrow him, for, as you have heard, the two have been at daggers drawing and not catercousins of old, and yet still there remaineth a continual grudge and hatred betwixt them, Sands being a profane Protestant and the other a dissembling Puritan.

The tyrant thinketh that none can persecute us extremely enough but himself, and therefore he will do all. The other apostata will not deal where his adversary hath any intermeddling. Through this discord, though we fare no better, yet Hutton, the pretended dean, which cannot brook nor patiently bear any superiority in Sands over him, is for this emulation chosen as a partner with the tyrant, though he also be a mere Protestant, to turn with every wind against the old apostata, and accounted a fit match both to countenance him and also an ungracious instrument to persecute us in such bloody manner as the tyrant shall require. This Hutton, being a licentious companion and an irreligious, dissembling atheist, and bearing among the ignorant a name of learning, but in truth very dotish and unlearned, the tyrant useth as a fit fellow to serve his turn, though they close not in Puritanism; but this fellow is of that metal that he can apply himself to the tyrant's hands in everything, and frame his talk in religion as he perceiveth the tyrant's humour to flow, by reason of which hypocrisy, the tyrant having in special favour all such as by flattery can feed and please his arrogant mind, this licentious fellow beareth the greatest sway with him of all the rout of ministers in these parts. And for the tyrant himself, of what constitution and complexion he is in other matters I need not to write, you know it better than I:—aye, how that after his first coming into these countries he won to him by great flattery divers worshipful gentlemen, and by their means sounded the hearts of the rest, what they would do for him if his desired day should come. Them he made his instruments to prepare and win to him the chiefest in these parts against that day. How also he was a most rebellious malcontent at the arriving of Mounser,[1] every day ready to stir rebellion and rise to

[1] *Monsieur* was the Duke of Anjou, who was in England in 1581 and 1582, seeking to marry Elizabeth.

arms with the disgraced sort against the Prince herself, for which purpose at the same time he made a new horse-race in the forest near to York,[1] that he might know where to have approved coursers if need required. How also he sent to his brethren in Leicestershire, when he heard her Majesty to be dangerous sick, to keep his house [at] Ashby, and to make in readiness the armour intending, certes, to be the first that should by force make claim and begin civil war. How also he abhorred the supreme ecclesiastical authority in the Queen as much as Catholics, and yet, dissembling this point, doth persecute us to death for the same. How also he was a chief broker of the shameful marriage betwixt Mr. Beckwith, his man, and one of his lady's waiting women, though he knew Beckwith to have one wife at the least at the same time living in England, which yet liveth, if he had not besides her one or two more in Ireland, but I am not sure whether this kind of filthy connection be holden lawful in this Puritanism, or no. How, promising Mrs. Atterton, then Mrs. Conyers,[2] by his own letters, the liberty of her conscience and no molestation for recusancy, if she would at his request marry his man Atterton, himself shortly after, by threats and other evil usages enforced her to go to church, saying he would permit no recusants to live under his authority, which was quite contrary to his former grant. And, finally, how unjustly he demeaneth himself among his own tenants and neighbours, the injurious violence done to the gentleman, his tenant, in the park

[1] Camden, in his "Britannia," mentions a yearly horse-race in the forest of Galtres, where the prize for the horse that won was a little golden bell, from whence no doubt comes the proverb, "to bear away the bell." Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 241. Early in the last century the races were held for a few years at Clifton-ings, and ever since at Knavesmire, the common pasturage, on the side of which, opposite to Hobmoor-lane, stood the gallows where forty-nine Catholics died for their religion.

[2] Probably Catherine, third daughter of John Lord Conyers of Hornby, who married John Atherton, son of Sir John Atherton of Atherton. She married secondly Francis Savile.

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at Loughborowe doth declare. This only thought is his chief policy, to persecute and destroy as many Catholics as he can, that when his expected day cometh there may be few or none of them to hinder his ambitious climbing. It is time now to make an end, wherefore I beseech you that as you were desirous to know our calamities, so now for the love of God and for all friendship you will pray earnestly that God, through His infinite mercy, turn from us the malice of these heretics and His wrath, that we may serve Him in holiness and peace, to the honour of His blessed Name. Amen.

III.

FATHER RICHARD HOLTBY ON PERSECUTION IN THE NORTH.

FATHER RICHARD HOLTBY ON PERSECUTION IN THE NORTH.

RICHARD HOLTBY was born at Fraiton [Fryton] in Yorkshire, in 1553, according to Father Henry More.[1] The dates given in the *Summaria Defunctorum* for 1640, would place his birth two years earlier; but as Father More must have had before his eyes that account which was written after Father Holtby's death, we may regard his variation from it as an intentional correction. Holtby was first at Cambridge and then at Oxford. At the latter University, More says that he took his bachelor's degree and taught philosophy, but that his sympathies, as well as those of his scholars, being Catholic, and the necessity of attending public prayers pressing on him for a decision, he resolved to sacrifice his position and go over to the College of Douay. Anthony à Wood,[2] however, who on such a point is necessarily better informed, says that, "departing without any degree in this University, he went beyond the seas to Douay." From the same authority we learn that he was at Hart Hall [now Hertford College], "during the principality of Philip Rondell, who had weathered out several changes of religion, though in his heart he was a Papist, but durst not show it." Wood adds that, "many persons who were afterwards noted in the Roman Church were educated under Rondell:" and, with regard to Richard Holtby, that Alexander Briant and he were at Hart Hall together, being admitted there together in 1574, when the one was seventeen and the other twenty-one, and that Holtby became Briant's tutor—a tutor, he says, "sufficiently addicted to Popery."

On the 3rd of August, 1577, Holtby reached the College of Douay by way of Antwerp, in company with a Mr. Fowler, who

[1] *Historia Prov. Angl. S.J.* p. 349.
[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 210.

afterwards accompanied Dr. Allen to Rome.[1] His time of theological studies was exceedingly short. Father More says that he spent three years at Douay and Rheims in the study of the Sacred Scripture and of cases of conscience; but the Douay Diary shows that when he was ordained priest he had been barely eight months in the College. However he remained eleven months longer before going on the mission. On the 23rd of February, 1578,[2] Richard Holtby was ordained sub-deacon, leaving Douay on the 20th, and returning to the College from Cambray on the 24th. The whole number ordained on that day was nineteen, of whom twelve were ordained sub-deacons and seven priests. Amongst the latter was Robert Sutton, who was afterwards martyred, and Abraham Sutton, his brother; and from the form of the entry[3] in the Douay Diary, it is plain that the writer of the Diary was one of the party.

The list of those who were ordained priests[4] with Richard

[1] 3° die [Aug. 1577] huc venerunt ab Antverpia Mr. Foulerus et Richardus Holtbeius qui ex Anglia illuc transfretaverat. Hic quod studium Theologiæ meditabatur huc se contulit, et ad nostra communia receptus fuit." *Second Douay Diary.*

[2] As the Gregorian Calendar was not introduced till 1582, no distinction of style has to be added to the date; but as in England the year began on the 25th of March, this date would there have been called 1577.

[3] "Die 24 [Feb. 1578] revertebamur Cameraco qui eo sacros ordines suscipiendi causa die 20 profecti fuimus, ad numerum 19. Horum autem sacrum subdiaconatus ordinem susceperunt 12, quorum nomina sunt hæc: Mr. Persus, Gulielmus Sladus, Thomas Stranshamus, Richardus Holtbeus, Mr. Brianus, Gulielmus Watsus, Mr. Barnsus, Mr. Pullanus, Mr. Floydus, Mr. Philbeus, Robertus Wottonus. Isti autem eodem tempore creati sunt Presbyteri: Mr. Leonardus Fitzsimon, Robertus Suttonus et Abrahamus Suttonus fratres, Mr. Alanus, Griffinus, Edovardus Hewes, Thomas Blewettus; cum his etiam eumdem ordinem adeptus est Cameraci D. Wendonus." *Second Douay Diary.*

[4] "29 Martii [Holy Saturday, 1578].

Joannes Hartus Oxoniensis.
Guilielmus Pearseus Cestrien.
Guilielmus Sladus Lichfildien.
Thomas Stranshamus Oxonien.
Joannes Barnes Vintonien.
Joannes Filbeus Oxoniensis.
Josue Pullanus Eboracen.
Odoenus Floydus Bangorien.
Joannes Bennettus Asaphen.
Richardus Holtbeus Cestrien.
Guilelmus Watseus Meneven.
Alexander Briantus Exonien. M 16. Robertus Woottonus Londinen. M 17.

Omnes supradicti promoti sunt ad sacerdotium antequam migravimus ex Academia Duacensi in Rhemensem." *First Douay Diary.* For some notice of Josue Pullan or Joseph Pollen, see Father John Gerard's Life, in *The Condition of Catholics under James I.* pp. cxl. cclv.; and of William Watts or Waytes, see *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 16.

Holtby is the same as that of his companions when he received the sub-deaconship, with the addition of John Hart and John Bennet. Of these not a few were notable men —among the rest John Hart[1] and John Bennet themselves, —but the most notable was Alexander Briant, the glorious martyr, who suffered death with Father Campion and Ralph Sherwin. Another is marked in the Douay ordination list as martyr, Robert Wootton, but of him nothing is known. Perhaps he died in prison, as several others did who are so noted in the same catalogue. It has been already remarked,[2] in a note to the name of Father John Bennet, the apostle of North Wales, that of the thirteen Douay students who were raised to the priesthood at this single ordination, six sooner or later entered the Society.

Father More[3] says that Holtby found three English Jesuits at Douay, but his arrival was after the death of one of the three, and before the return of the other from the noviceship. The one who died before his coming was John Bustard, of the diocese of Oxford, who entered the Society at Louvain in the year 1570, being then but nineteen. After his noviceship he taught metaphysics for a short time, and when he had finished his studies in theology he was sent to teach philosophy at Douay, but he died[4] on Midsummer day, 1576, before his professorship had lasted a year. On the other hand Thomas Marshall can hardly have come to Douay as professor before Holtby left it for the English Mission. This Marshall was at Lincoln College, Oxford, and took his B.A., April 8th, 1562. He was already a priest when he came to Douay in 1575, and he passed at once[5]

[1] *Troubles*, Second Series, pp. 28—34.

[2] *Supra*, p. 52, note.

[3] *Historia Prov. Angl.* p. 21.

[4] "Festo Nativitatis Beati Joannes Baptistæ [1576] diem suum obiit clarissimus et sanctissimus adolescens D. Jo. Busthardus Anglus, unus de Societate Jesu, et apud illos maxima cum laude per longum tempus Philosophiæ Professor, in Sacra Theologia Baccalaureus." *Second Douay Diary.*

[5] "Anno [15]75 ingressi sunt Societatem Jesu duo sacerdotes viri graves D. Thomas Robinsonus Lincolnien, et D. Thomas Martialis Eboracen." *First Douay Diary, second part.* In the first part of the same Diary there is the entry: "Accesserunt hoc anno [1575] . . . D. Thomas Martialis Eboracen." Dodd's account of Thomas Marshall (vol. ii. p. 136) is very incorrect.

to the novitiate at Louvain. He taught philosophy for nine years at Douay, coming there probably in 1579. At the end of that time he was sent to Rome to be confessor in the English College, but being taken ill almost immediately, he was removed to the Roman College, where, after being admitted to the solemn vows of a Professed Father, he died July 22, 1589.

These two Jesuit Fathers, Bustard and Marshall, were probably not at the English College at Douay, but at one of the lesser Colleges which were under the charge of the Society in Douay —either the Collége de Marchiennes, or the Collége d' Anchin, the noble foundations of the great Benedictine Abbeys from which they have taken their names. But there was one English Jesuit who was attached to the English College by its President, Dr. Allen, and he was there while Holtby was at the College. This was John Columb, a Devonshire man, who was confessor and preacher there, dying in the year 1582, when he had been in the Society ten years, and was in the thirty-sixth year of his age. He was mentioned by John Ingram, the martyr, on his trial, as having been his instructor at Douay.

All the time that Holtby was at Douay, the position of the English in that city was rendered exceedingly unpleasant by popular feeling. The cause of the suspicion which the populace entertained of the English Catholics is not easy to explain. Some attribute it to the Huguenots, others to the machinations of Elizabeth's emissaries. The result was singular, for thus, as Dodd remarks,[1] the Catholics, who in England were regarded as traitors corresponding with Spain, when on Spanish territory, as Flanders then was, were suspected to be spies of the French. The discomfort arising from these absurd suspicions had prevailed for some time. In 1575, Wilson, the English Ambassador, had induced Requesens, the Governor of the Low Countries, to insist on the removal of the Earl of Westmoreland and other English exiles from the Spanish Netherlands. Things after this had quieted down again, but towards the end of 1576 Douay became a disagreeable, if not a dangerous, place for the English, and in consequence the Douay Diary for November in that year contains a long list of departures from the town, partly

[1] Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. ii. p. 165.

for Paris, partly for England. The number of students in the College must have seriously diminished in consequence of these troubles, for while in October, 1576, there were 170 in the College, and though in April, 1577, it is noted that the number began to increase, in May, 1577, there were but 65, and at the end of July only 60. Perhaps the disturbed state of things was the reason why Richard Holtby was ordained after so short a course of study.

While he was absent with the other *ordinandi* at Cambray,[1] the troubles of the College reached their climax. Dr. Ely, who with other students of law had formed a community in the town of Douay, was hooted as a traitor in the streets. Frequent domiciliary visits of the Governor and magistrates satisfied the authorities but not the populace; and Dr. Allen, seeing the necessity of a change of site for the College, obtained letters from the Cardinal of Guise to the magistrates of Rheims, and made all preparations for the transfer of the College to that city and university. At last the Echevins of Douay made a proclamation "au son de tambour," on the 22nd of March, 1578, being the Saturday before Palm Sunday, that all the English capable of bearing arms should take their departure within two days. The College presented a petition for delay, in which, after asking for a certificate of good conduct, the following clause appears.

"As it is all but impossible for all those who are included in the precept to leave within the two days, as a great part of them are at this moment absent at Cambray for the ordinations [we ask] that the time may be prolonged at least till Low Monday: if not for the care of our souls in these most holy days which we desire to keep holily, yet at least for our bodily necessity, in order that being a great number of very poor persons, we may be able to sell what we have, to provide for the journey, lest we be obliged to beg by the way; and that going in small parties and not all together we may find carriage; and lastly,

[1] While the College was at Douay, its students were generally ordained at Cambray, which see in 1559 had been made an archbishopric, with Arras, Tournay, St. Omers, and Namur for suffragans. During the stay of the College at Rheims, its ordinations were usually held either in that city or at Laon.

lest if we refuse flesh meat during Lent in English inns, we betray ourselves to the persecutors, who have already put three of us to a very cruel death."

This was dated the 25th of March, but the next entry in the Diary is that on the 27th Dr. Webb reached Rheims with the students. On the 8th and 9th the newly ordained priests arrived, Richard Holtby forming one of the latter party;[1] their ordination in the Cathedral at Cambray having been on Easter Eve.

On the 19th of May Dr. Allen reached Rheims, having been on a journey to Namur and Louvain. Just before his arrival a return was made to the magistrates of Rheims of the number of the English who had come to take up their abode in the city. The University students in all were 55, of whom 44 were in the College; and they had been accompanied by two families, which raised their numbers to 68. These families were that of John Harris, Sir Thomas More's secretary, whose wife Dorothy had been Margaret Roper's maid,[2] and that of Jane Bristow, then a widow, the mother of the celebrated Dr. Richard Bristow, at this time a professor in the College.

The shortness of Holtby's theological training before ordination was to some small extent supplied by his remaining in the College as a priest for nearly a year. He left Rheims in company with three other priests[3] on the 26th of February, 1579. His lot was

[1] "Die 9 [Aprilis, 1578] venerunt Rhemos Guilielmus Reignolse, et Joannes Lyons laici, quibuscum etiam adventarunt sacerdotes 4, nempe Mr. Jo. Hartus, Robertus Wottonus, Mr. Watte et Mr. Holbeus, et cum his etiam unus Diaconus scilicet Thomas Hodsonus."

[2] *Troubles*, First Series, p. 5 *note*.

[3] "Die 26 [Feb., 1579] profecti sunt in Angliam ex seminario sacerdotes quatuor, D. Stampe, D. Holtby, D. Transham, D. Philby."—*Second Douay Diary*. In the list of priests sent on the mission, which forms the second part of the *First Douay Diary*, the name of "Richardus Holtbeius Cestrien." appears as the second priest sent to England from Rheims. This is under the date 1578, and it stands on the list between two martyrs, Luke Kirby and John Shert. In this the two Diaries are not in accord. The *Second Diary* enters Kirby's departure for England on May 31, 1578; but he returned from England to Rheims July 15, and started for Rome, August 17. Shert arrived from Rome July 23, and left for England August 27; and after this, seven other priests were sent to England from Rheims before Holtby and his companions.

cast on the mission in the northern counties. Of this portion of his life we have but a single record,[1] but that is important and doubtless one that largely affected his after career. He received Father Campion into his house, and then took him to a thoroughly retired place, where he could have a quiet time for the preparation of his famous *Ten Reasons.* It is characteristic of the remarkable power that Father Holtby showed all his life of keeping out of the hands of the Government, that carefully as, after Father Campion's capture, Lord Burghley traced his journey in the north and the places where he had lodged, he did not succeed in getting any information respecting the time spent under Holtby's guidance. In consequence Campion's biographer[2] passes over this portion of Campion's stay in the north. It should probably be placed after the time spent with Mr. William Harrington of Mount St. John, where Campion is said to have been occupied about twelve days in writing the *Ten Reasons.* With Holtby for his host, his work was in giving them their polish and final preparation for the press. This will have been before Easter in 1581.

On the 17th of July in that year Campion was taken prisoner, and on the 1st of December Campion, Sherwin, and Briant passed through their cruel butchery at Tyburn. Briant had become a Jesuit just before his death, and Holtby resolved to follow in the footsteps of his former pupil. His vocation seemed to be the reward of the hospitality with which he had received Father Campion. A few months after that memorable martyrdom Richard Holtby was walking in a garden, deliberating on his future life, when on the one hand the shortness and imperfection of his preparation for the mission came strongly before him, and on the other a call to the Society presented itself so vividly to his mind, that he then and there knelt down under a tree and made the three religious vows; and as Lent had begun, and he could not possibly leave his work for the present, he added a fourth vow that on Low Monday he would start for London.

When Holtby reached London in 1582 Father Persons was in France, and Father Jaspar Haywood, on whose shoulders the

[1] More, *Historia Prov. Angl.* p. 349. [2] Simpson's *Life of Campion*, p. 188.

mantle of superiority had fallen, was at work in some other part of England. Holtby at once sold his horse, and with the proceeds took ship for France. He made his way to Paris, where Father Thomas Darbyshire was living, and there having made the Exercises of St. Ignatius under that Father's direction, he was admitted into the Society by Father Otho Pagès, the French Provincial, and by the beginning of the year 1583 he was safe in the Novitiate at Verdun. So when in the following year Father Darbyshire wrote,[1] "We are now nine English in this province, praise be to Christ," Richard Holtby was one of the nine.

The exercises and trials of the noviceship over, four years of the study of theology at the University of Pont-à-Mousson made up the deficiencies of his earlier course. Father Holtby was then made Superior of the Scotch College, which had been founded in 1576 at Pont-à-Mousson by Dr. James Cheyne, a Scotch priest. This appointment will have been probably in 1587, and one of his years of novitiate will have been spent in study, for thus only will it have been possible for him to have returned to England in 1589, as More says he did.

We now get a little fact connected with the early history of the Scotch College, and the scrap is the more interesting as so little is yet known of the history of that College.[2] The plague was prevalent in Pont-à-Mousson, and Father Holtby was obliged to send away the students of his College. Thirteen only remained in the house, and of these he buried ten with his own hands. One he carried on his shoulders, "and broad shoulders they were," says Father More, through the midst of the city to be buried in the fields. He and two lay-brothers survived, and it was noted that the only remedy they employed was to wash their face and hands with vinegar.

After this a little while was spent at Trèves and Mayence to recruit, and on his return to Pont-à-Mousson, Father Claude Matthieu, the Provincial, communicated to Father Holtby the

[1] *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 27.

[2] The registers of the College, which happily have been preserved, are the property of Robert Maxwell Witham, of Kirkconnell, Esquire, and they are described in the Fifth *Report of the Historical Commission*, p. 652.

orders sent by Father Aquaviva that he should pass over into England. This was in 1589, and from this time to 1640 which was the year of his death, his missionary labours were never interrupted either by a day's illness or by arrest at the hands of any constable or pursuivant.

It was not that the Government of Elizabeth was without information respecting him. Spies and weak brethren now and again mentioned his name and residence. Thus, at the beginning of 1593, Thomas Clerk, a priest, confessed[1] that "on landing at the Shields by Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1590, he and Francis Clayton went to the house of one Mr. Trollope in Thorneley or Thornton, in the Bishopric of Durham, where they met with Richard Houtbee, a Jesuit, to whom they were specially directed, with whom this examinate continued about a week, and had a frieze jerkin made him by Houtbee's procurement . . . He saith he brought over no letters, superaltare, or such like, for that there needed none, because the Jesuits have authority to make and consecrate such stuff as should be needful."

A few days after this the Earl of Huntingdon sent Lord Burghley a list,[2] written by some priest, dated January 20, 1593, which names four Jesuits: "Mr. Henry Garnet, Mr. Robert Southwell, Mr. Curry, I hear, Mr. Richard Holtbie, Jesuits;" but besides these the writer mentions several others whom he did not know to be Jesuits: "Mr. John Gerard, Mr. Stanny *alias* Pinke, Mr. Cornelius, Mr. Warnford, Mr. Blount," all in south parts; and in Yorkshire, "Mr. John Pullen *alias* Old Master, and Mr. Oldcorne."

Another "note[3] of certain priests that are in the north country," is more descriptive. "Richard Holtby *alias* Duckett, a Jesuit, was for the most part abiding at Mr. Trollope's house at Thorneley in the Bishopric of Durham, and came over five years past. He is a little man with a reddish beard, about the age of forty-three years, and was born in Yorkshire." As this report is dated May, 1593, the spy has given Father Holtby three years beyond his true age.

[1] P.R.O. *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxliv. n. 5.
[2] P.R.O. *Domestic, Elizabeth, Addenda*, vol. xxxii. n. 64.
[3] P.R.O. *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxlv. n. 24.

At the date of these informations Father Holtby wrote the narrative,[1] which is printed the second of the two from his pen which we here give. It mentions himself in the following words: "This year, 1593, on the 1st of February, began a search for Catholics all over Yorkshire, Richmondshire, Cleveland, and the Bishopric of Durham, and Northumberland . . . yet it had no great effect, save that a few laymen were taken, and one only priest, called Anthony Page . . . and myself with my brother John escaped very narrowly."

Another narrow escape after this is related by Richard Verstegan in a letter to Roger Baines, dated April 16, 1594, which has been embodied by Father Bartoli in his History.[2] Father Holtby, and the eldest son of Mr. John Trollope, Father Holtby's host, had gone to a considerable distance from home for the baptism of a child, and on their returning, being hardly a bowshot from the house, they saw sentries posted about, by which they understood that a search was going on. They were at once perceived, and as they ran away for dear life, the watch pursued them. The country was fortunately well wooded, and as the young gentleman had threaded every path in search of game, his knowledge of the ground enabled them to distance their pursuers. There they both remained hidden in the thickest part of the wood for two days and nights, one night in a tree, the other in a cave. Meanwhile, Mr. Trollope, his wife, a son and a niece, the latter thirteen years old, together with two servants, were shut up in an underground hole for three days and nights, without a mouthful of bread or a drop of water to break their fast. Their patience tired out their persecutors, and when the coast was clear, the poor hunted Catholics met again under their roof half dead with their privations.

Father Garnet also tells this story,[3] and shows that the confinement of the Trollopes in their hiding place was for two, not three days and nights. He thus describes the way in which the search was conducted: "The Lord President brought a *posse* from Yorkshire into Bishopric to make a sudden attack on the house of Mr.

[1] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl. A.* vol. i. n. 74; Grene's *Collectan. M.* fol. 150.

[2] *Inghilterra*, lib. v. cap. 5, p. 349.

[3] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl. A.* vol. i. n. 73. We translate from the Latin.

John Trollope. That gentleman at once concealed himself, his wife and son, a niece of thirteen, and two maid-servants in a hiding place, leaving one Catholic maid to keep the house and answer questions. Of the other servants some were absent, some engaged in out-door work, and in ignorance whether their master and his family were at home—for when at home, like all Catholics, they were obliged to keep themselves very quiet. The searchers, not finding the owner of the house, began a hunt for money. They broke open doors, forced locks, tore down partitions, and in order to show that they were acting officially they refused the keys of rooms or boxes when offered to them, and preferred to use violence. They took away with them three silver cups with a cover, weighing fifteen pounds, and worth sixty crowns, sixteen silver spoons, clothes, all the linen, boots, saddles, fowling-pieces, knives, daggers, scissors, and whatever else was of any value; and they did not spare the provisions, or the corn and hay, using and wasting freely for the two days. And all this while, that is from the evening of Monday in Holy Week to the evening of Wednesday, those who were in concealment had to remain without food or drink. These cunning searchers brought with them a little bell, that by the variation in its sound they might judge where there were any hollow places; and they measured the house inside and out, to ascertain where the inside measure differed from the outside. They would distribute themselves through the house and keep profound silence to catch the sound of a cough, a sigh, the breathing or any movement of those who were hidden; and one or another would suddenly call out, 'Here they are, mates, we've got them,' that the Catholics might betray their whereabouts by a start of surprise. It certainly is surprising that for so long a time they could keep quiet, especially as it is hard sometimes not to clear the throat. The maid who was left in the house, seeing they were going to take her to prison, saved herself by flight."

Father Richard had in the course of his missionary labours come to be well known to the Catholics of the North, and was trusted far and wide. His delight was to use the power this position conferred, to facilitate the entry of young priests on the Mission. He knew where to recommend them to take up their abode, and he was very large handed in providing them with

horses and money at the outset of their work. He was also very charitable in collecting alms for the Catholics who were in prison, whose miserable state he describes in his narrative.

For himself, he was very ready with his hands; he was a good gardener, mason, carpenter, and turner; and he was so exceedingly skilful in making hiding places for priests, that it was said that no pursuivant ever succeeded in finding one of them. He was also fond of embroidering vestments, and he sent a specimen of his handiwork as a present to Father Mutius Vitelleschi, the General of the Society, which was long preserved in the Sacristy of the Professed House at Rome.

During this time he was Socius to Father Henry Garnet, Vice-Prefect of the English Mission; Father Persons at Rome being Prefect till his death in 1610. Father Garnet in his account of the persecution which is preserved at Stonyhurst, a long passage from which we have just translated, evidently refers to the narrative of the persecution which we now print, and says that it was sent to him by his "Socius D. Ricardus."

On Father Garnet's martyrdom, May 3, 1606, Father Richard Holtby was chosen to succeed him as Vice-Prefect. The times were very difficult, as it was necessary for Father Holtby, without assuming in any way a position of superiority over the Archpriest, George Blackwell, yet to withstand him as he had yielded to King James and defended the lawfulness of taking the proposed oath of allegiance. Holtby showed great prudence and firmness. He forbade the Jesuit Fathers, who were now forty-two in number on the English mission, to write or preach against the oath, but left them free to give advice to all who consulted them; and he meanwhile kept Pope Paul V. fully informed on the matter, and the Pope by two briefs plainly and positively condemned the oath.

Holtby was Superior in England for three years, and in 1609 he was succeeded by Father Robert Jones. After him came Michael Walpole, and then Richard Blount, who was the first Provincial. Father Holtby lived to see the erection of the English Province in 1623, and indeed though the first Provincial was fifteen years in office, Father Holtby survived him, for he did not die till May $\frac{15}{25}$, 1640, when he was eighty-seven years old, of which he had spent fifty-eight in the Society and thirty-seven

as a Professed Father in the same. He had been a priest for the long term of sixty-two years. Almost all this time was spent by him in the north of England. We cannot always trace his residence, but we have seen that in 1593 he was living with Mr. Trollope at Thorneley. In another list,[1] dating a little before the death of Elizabeth, he was reported to the Earl of Salisbury as "Mr. Holtby, with Mr. Hodgson, at Heborne, three miles from Newcastle." When Superior after Father Garnet's death he may have resided in London; and on ceasing to be Superior he paid a visit to Belgium, for he was at Louvain[2] when the English nuns were taking possession of St. Monica's Convent, and he said Mass for them at St. Peter's Church as they passed from St. Ursula's to their new house. But he returned again to the north of England, and when Archbishop Abbot wrote in 1612 to tell King James that he had taken Father Blackfan prisoner, he said[3] of him, "Since his coming into England, he maketh the despatches between Jones, the Superior of the Jesuits, who lieth always near London, and Holtby, who was the Superior next before Jones, and lieth commonly in Yorkshire." When Father Richard Holtby died, he was in what was called in the Society "the Residence of St. John the Evangelist," a term by which the counties of Durham and Cumberland were signified.

The following paper is by the kind permission of the Rev. Father Purbrick, Rector of Stonyhurst College, printed from the original in Father Holtby's hand, which was sent by him to Father Henry Garnet. Its reference among the Stonyhurst manuscripts is *Angl. A.*, vol. ii., n. 12. A considerable portion of it has been printed by Canon Tierney in the third volume of his *Dodd*, p. 75. On this account there was ground for hesitation as to its insertion amongst papers that are hitherto unpublished, but the rarity of Canon Tierney's volumes, the interest and appositeness of the narrative itself, and the fact that it has not yet been printed in its integrity, are sufficient reasons for its insertion.

[1] *Troubles*, First Series, p. 191.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 50.

[3] P.R.O., *Domestic, James I.* vol. lxx. n. 33; *Records of the English Province*, vol. i., p. 630.

FATHER RICHARD HOLTBY ON PERSECUTION IN THE NORTH.

From the Original[1] at Stonyhurst College.

REVEREND FATHER,—Understanding by a friend that my former letters being intercepted were not delivered unto you, wherein divers things were contained concerning the estate and persecution of Catholics in this north country, together with certain copies of several letters directed unto me from Mr. H[enry] W[alpole] after his apprehension, though to my remembrance nothing was written in them that might prejudice any person or place of our friends, where you or any other doth frequent, other than you shall perceive to be signified in these presents, the which I am forced to write that you may as near as I can call to mind thereby understand the contents of the former, with some particular intelligence of such accidents as of late have happened in these parts. And first, to speak in general, such is our present estate, the which, daily by experience, we have cause more and more to lament, that, unless God of His great goodness and mercy stay the rage of our persecutors, and dissipate the pernicious counsels, plots, and enterprises of our malignant adversaries, it is greatly to be feared that in short time the weak and small number of God's servants shall come

[1] "Relations of many executions in Yorkshire and Durham during the years '93, '94, '95." Endorsed in the handwriting of Father Grene: "It seems the handwriting of Richard Fetherston, by comparing it with divers his writing. *Sed quis hic* R. Fetherston? Certainly 'twas Father R. Holtby, *alias* North, Duckett, &c."

to ruin, and the little sparkle of Catholic religion, as yet reserved amongst us, shall be quite extinguished. And I beseech Almighty God, whose divine providence is in and over all, that our sins be not of more force in His presence, to exact a further scourge, than our patient affliction is of value, through His grace, to deserve a merciful remission of these our troubles, to His honour, and the reducing of many a straying sheep into His Church's fold. For mine own part I fear it greatly, when I behold in little storms what numbers are lost, yea, how many willingly cast themselves away before they be greatly urged, and how few there be that abide so long until they come unto a just trial of their constancy. Whereas a great part of those also that, in the beginning, and a good while, have submitted themselves, for the safety of their souls, patiently to suffer such extremities as it should please God to lay upon them, have, after many injuries offered, perils passed, disgrace in the world, loss of their goods, and imprisonment of body, with other calamities long endured, in the end tired with miseries, and overcome with temptations, have yielded themselves unto the time, and thereby lost all the fruits of their former travail; declaring themselves therein not unlike the feigned gold of an alchymist's forge, which, being put into the furnace, is never able to endure the seventh fire, of which sort I could name a great number of the laity, both men and women of all degrees, with some also of the clergy, if it were not that, seeing Almighty God hath yet prolonged their time to bring them to repentance, I live in hope and expectation of their amendment. Yet unto the terror of such as defer their conversion, and abuse the time God hath granted them, by continuing and multiplying their offences, wherein they ought to seek and sue for mercy, let them consider how few there be that have grace to come home in time, perhaps two amongst a thousand, whereas, ordinarily

by the custom and acquaintance with sin and sinful persons, wherein they lie, and with whom they daily converse, their hearts are hardened, and their souls so blinded that, although continually the grace of God ceaseth not to call upon them, yet they are neither moved to compunction living, while it is in their power to have it, nor the means afforded them dying to obtain it, because before they neglected it. That it may be well said of them that is written: *Impii proficient in pejus errantes et in errorem mittentes:*[1] and again, *Thesaurizastis vobis iram in die iræ,*[2] at which day they shall begin to be wise though too late, and repenting themselves shall say, though out of season, *Expectavimus pacem, et non est bonum, et tempus curationis, et ecce turbatio.*[3]

On the other side our enemies go forward, and they prosper in their ways. Their policies take place, and their desires are accomplished. If they seek to know us, we are bewrayed and described unto them; if they search, they find us; if they find, they commit us; but whether they find or no, they ransack, rob, and spoil us. No friendship can we expect when we are apprehended, nor safety assure us to live untaken. To abide at home, if it be espied, we dare not; and to fly far we are forbidden by statute. Five miles are our compass, without the which we incur no little penalty, within the which we live in extreme danger. Either publicly or privately, the one must of necessity be chosen, though neither can content our adversaries, and both are prejudicial to ourselves. For, if we converse openly, if we buy or sell, if we traffic in our necessary affairs, or take care of our own commodities; if we laugh, recreate ourselves, or

1 "Evil men and seducers shall grow worse and worse, erring, and driving into error." 2 Tim. iii. 13.

2 "Treasuring up to themselves wrath, against the day of wrath." Rom. ii. 5.

3 "We have looked for peace, and there is no good, and for the time of healing, and behold trouble." Jer. xiv. 19.

carry any indifferent countenance, then are we either too wealthy, or else too well, to live: such prosperous fortune is not tolerable in men of our profession. The felicity they covet themselves, they envy that we should have it, and a small worldly favour obtained by us doth turn us to no little prejudice: seeing we gain nothing thereby but hatred. But if we live in secret, and delight ourselves to be solitary, if we cut off all access of our neighbours, or refuse to keep company with such as love us not, then do we busy our heads in their conceit, to devise against them secret conspiracies; and our leisure is a sufficient argument with them, that we occupy ourselves about no other matter, save only to stir and contrive seditious factions. Indeed, a lecher feareth none be honest, and a guilty conscience suspecteth all it loveth not. Otherwise what reason moveth them to doubt us, seeing by continual vexations they have disabled us, and by taking our weapons from us they have disarmed us? Yea, such a continual eye and watch they have over all our actions, that if there were but any light sign or token to be found of any such attempt or enterprise, it could not escape unespied. For first of all, they have planted themselves and their officers, serjeants, pursuivants, factors, favourites, and intelligencers, in every county and shire, in such sort that there is no Catholic can remain in any place so privately, but that he shall have one or other of his adversaries so near unto him, that shall oversee all his doings, in such sort that it shall be very hard to conceal any matter from him. Besides, they have suborned such a number of secret spies, who, under colour of Catholic religion, do insinuate themselves into our company and familiarity, and that with pretence of such zeal, sincerity, and friendship, that it seemeth a thing almost impossible either to decipher or avoid them. These men do give intelligence, and inform our adversaries continually of all our actions, sayings, and

many times our secret intents, if they gather by any sign or sinister suspicion of their own that we are conceited otherwise than they would have us. Furthermore, of our own company many times both priests and others there be, of whom the Apostle spoke long since: *Quoniam intrabunt lupi rapaces in vos, non parcentes gregi, et ex vobis ipsis surgent viri loquentes perversa.*[1] And these men, like children of Cham his kind, are not ashamed to reveal the secrets of their parents, yea, more impious than Cain that murdered his brother, or Judas that betrayed his Master, do seek the lives of all their brethren, friends, and benefactors, with the overthrow of their whole charge and families. Such are Bell, Hardesty, Clark, Major, and others, who, not content to reveal the places where they have had charitable relief, because they once bore the name of God's priests, but also have bewrayed unto the persecutors all the names and conditions of their brethren and other acquaintance, and now of the sheep of Christ's flock being degenerate into the nature of wolves, do pursue by false doctrine, and what other means their malice urgeth them unto, the rest of the same flock, it being the Spouse of Christ, and the Mother that instructed them in faith, they being now become traitors and renegades from the same.

Moreover, lest we should take any breath to look about us, we are vexed and oppressed so urgently, with such often and most cruel searches, that we have more occasion offered to study how to save ourselves from present dangers, rather than to devise by what means we may evade others. Add unto these the singular industry and diligence proceeding from an implacable hatred and malice, which our persecutors use in pursuing us, and inventing all means possible to hinder our rising, or to procure our ruin. What precise course and vigilant

[1] "Ravening wolves will enter in among you, not sparing the flock; and of your own selves shall arise men speaking perverse things." Acts xx. 29, 30.

care is there taken that none shall pass from any port in all this north country to go beyond the seas, or come from thence and arrive at any haven, but that he shall be searched and examined what he is, of what profession, of what religion, from whence he cometh, whither he goeth, what he bringeth or carrieth with him, yea, and many times attendance made for him, and intelligence given of him, long before his arrival; so that none can pass either to or fro, without manifest peril of present apprehension? What enquiry is made and search also, with examination of parents and friends, who hath his son or brother beyond the seas? Who relieveth any, or favoureth any in those parts? Also what general enquiries and searches are there made, not only in some particular private houses, but also in common inns, and whole towns, as Durham, Yarm, and many others, for all strangers and passengers, and that upon any light occasion? What charge is given in all sessions, assizes, courts, commissions, gaol deliveries, and other meetings, to enquire, present, and indict all persons, as well servants as masters, and all matters that any way tend unto the furtherance of the Catholic cause? How curious is every one, both officers and others, now become, some of malice, some for gain, others of flattery, to win favour or credit, to observe and espy into every man's actions, with such suspicion and jealousy of every one, that no stranger can pass any way, or light in any company, but that he shall be questioned, sifted, and examined of every peasant, both of his name, dwelling, acquaintance, business, calling, and other particulars; that if he chance to dissemble, or fail in any of his words or answers, presently he shall be in danger to be suspected of further matters, and forced to appear before some officer, for some further examination and trouble.

Finally, so odious a thing it is amongst all, to be suspected or accounted a Catholic, that even those who

in their hearts love our religion, do notwithstanding, hate our profession of the same: for to aid us they dare not, lest they be taken as favourites; and to speak for us they will not, lest it breed their discredit. Our parents and kinsfolks refuse to show us that friendship which both the law admitteth and nature exacteth, lest they should seem so to affect our faith, by favouring our persons. Thus are we spited because we live, and, living in misery, we are not pitied; and though our life be tedious to live thus oppressed, yet must we think we have great favour showed us, that we are not quite despatched. What other favour we get is more to our cost; for the friendship granted unto us, is always the prey of our adversaries. First they spoil us of our goods, and after, persecute our persons: they imprison our bodies, and afflict our families in our absence. No little gain they make of us, while we remain in their custody; and small is our winning if we chance to get liberty. The chiefest favour must be procured by their means that have spoiled us before; and yet their lip-labour is so costly unto us, that it picks round sums out of our purses, and, although no right we can get without money, yet must we think ourselves beholden to them for their courtesy. Which friendship commonly is granted on such terms and conditions, that hardly can we accept of it, or use it, without manifest peril of damnation. To conclude, all the favours they offer, or show unto us, are no otherwise to be esteemed of, than as most dangerous snares laid in our ways to entrap us unawares, or as so many poisoned baits, craftily invented to feed themselves with our destruction; that in every respect may be verified in them that which is written, *Gladium evaginaverunt peccatores intenderunt arcum suum, ut dejiciant pauperem et inopem et trucident rectos corde;* and again, *Insidiantur ut rapiant pauperem, rapere pauperem*

dum attrahant eum.[1] We in the meantime do expect no other remedy, but only from God, who is our refuge and assured haven, where no storm can oppress us; unto whom, with the prophet, we do complain continually, *Usquequo Domine clamabo, et non exaudies; vociferabor ad te vim patiens, et non salvabis? Quare ostendisti mihi iniquitatem et laborem, videre prædam et injustitiam contra me? Quare respicis contemptores et taces, conculcante impio justiorem se?*[2] And with another: *Quare via impiorum prosperatur, bene est omnibus, qui prævaricantur et inique agunt? Plantasti eos et radicem miserunt, proficiunt et faciunt fructum: prope es tu ori eorum, et longe a renibus eorum.* But what followeth? *Congrega eos quasi gregem ad victimam et sanctifica eos in die occisionis;* and a little after: *Venite congregamini omnes bestiæ agri, properate ad devorandum.*[3] Which revenge I beseech God may light upon their sins, and not upon their persons, that their souls may be saved.

But to descend unto particulars. Let us consider and examine what their laws enacted be, what injurious commissions are directed, what impious and cruel officers are chosen and appointed, their manner of proceeding, their practices and executions, that it may appear how conformable this affliction of ours is unto the ancient

[1] "The wicked have drawn out the sword, they have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, to kill the upright of heart." "He lieth in ambush that he may catch the poor man; to catch the poor, whilst he draweth him to him." Psalm xxxvi. 14; x. 9.

[2] "How long, O Lord, shall I cry, and Thou wilt not hear; shall I cry out to Thee suffering violence, and Thou wilt not save? Why hast Thou shown me iniquity and grievance, to see rapine and injustice before me? Why lookest Thou upon them that do unjust things, and holdest Thy peace when the wicked devoureth the man that is more just than himself?" Habuc. i. 2, 3, 13.

[3] "Why doth the way of the wicked prosper: Why is it well with all them that transgress, and do wickedly? Thou hast planted them, and they have taken root: they prosper and bring forth fruit: Thou art near in their mouth, and far from their reins. . . . Gather them together as sheep for a sacrifice, and prepare them for the day of slaughter. . . . Come ye, assemble yourselves, all ye beasts of the earth, make haste to devour." Jer. xii. 1, 2, 3, 9.

persecutions raised by the Jews, heathen, and heretics against our forefathers, and wherein they strive every day more and more to become more ingenious in devising new means and occasions to oppress us, and by progress in impiety to excel themselves; as it is said: *Fiunt novissima eorum pejora prioribus, et superbia eorum qui te oderunt ascendit semper.*[1] And first of all their laws and statutes, from time to time enacted for this purpose, may plainly convince and declare unto us what cruel minds they bear against us, and how all their study and endeavour tendeth our overthrow; for the laws are the rules whereunto men direct all their actions.

"In the first Parliament, following the steps of her brother and father, *qui peccare fecit Israel*,[2] it was decreed that all authority, pre-eminence, privilege, and jurisdiction spiritual within this realm belonging unto the See of Rome should be quite extinguished and abrogated, and that the same should be annexed for ever unto the Crown of England; and, together with the material crown and temporal jurisdiction, be derived (*tanquam ex traduce*)[3] unto the prince's person, and that by the title of King or Queen, or, as in that respect she is Queen, she might visit, order, reform, and correct the clergy, and that for all errors, heresies, schisms, &c., and universally in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil; and that for the defence of the said power she might exact a corporal oath on all her subjects in any office or dignity in the commonwealth whatsoever, as bishops, priests, and others within orders, all graduates in universities and schoolmasters otherwheres, all temporal magistrates, judges, pleaders, attorneys, burgesses, barons, &c., from which authority no appeal shall be made nor

[1] "And the last state of that man is worse than the first. The pride of them that hate Thee ascendeth continually." St. Matt. xii. 45; Psalm lxxiii. 23.

[2] Who made Israel to sin.

[3] As from its source.

process got or procured from Rome, upon danger of falling into the case of *premunire*, Elizabeth 2°; but afterwards, Elizabeth 5°, there was a penalty added unto every one that should refuse to take that oath being tendered, *premunire* for the first time, but for the second time to be used as a traitor. Yea, Elizabeth 13°, they went a step further, decreeing that whosoever should procure or obtain any Bull, writing, or instrument concerning any matter or cause whatsoever, and all his abettors, counsellors, also the writers, printers, publishers, and furtherers by any means, to be judged as high traitors against the Queen or realm; in which year also appeals were made treason, which were but *premunire* before. Item, indeed to absolve or be absolved, reconcile or be reconciled by any such Bull or authority, treason, Elizabeth 13°; and their aiders and comforters, *premunire*. Yea, their concealers, though not consenting, misprision of treason. *Ibidem*, and to stop all our mouths withal, to extol, commend, or set forth the See of Rome by writing, ciphering, preaching, or word of mouth, or to attribute any jurisdiction thereunto, *premunire* for the first time, and after treason, Elizabeth 5°. As for religion itself, and the exercise thereof, at the first the Catholic Roman faith was abolished, but as time increased so were punishments multiplied. Elizabeth 23°, he that should say Mass, two hundred marks and one year's imprisonment; and the hearer, one hundred marks and half a year's imprisonment. But now this last Parliament, Elizabeth 35° [1592-3], every one that shall resort to any exercise of other religion than that is now current in England, shall be imprisoned until he make his open submission and declaration of conformity; which refusing to do within three months, shall by a corporal oath abjure the land, and depart, never to return upon pain of felony. Further, if any shall persuade any to the Roman religion, absolve, reconcile, be absolved or reconciled, or shall withdraw any from the religion that now is in practice, he committeth

treason, Elizabeth 23°. Yea, every priest, Jesuit, religious man, or others that take orders by any derivation from Rome, coming into the land, or abiding, are traitors *ipso facto*, Elizabeth 27°. And all their receivers, comforters, &c., are felons; yea, every other person that is or shall be beyond the seas, in any seminary that now is or shall be erected, and coming home and [not] conforming himself, is a traitor, and the relievers of such persons or places, in case of *præmunire*, Elizabeth 27°. Furthermore, all those that come not to their heretical church and service are to pay 12*d.* for every holiday they are absent, Elizabeth 1°. But fearing that penalty would not serve, it is augmented to 20*l.* for every month's recusancy, Elizabeth 23°. Yet may the Queen never show such favour unto the poorer sort not able to pay the penalty, as to be satisfied by depriving them of all their goods, with two parts of their lands and livings during their life, reserving through pure pity and compassion the third part only for the maintenance of themselves, wives, and families, Elizabeth 29°; and fearing lest any should either escape their hands by absenting themselves from their own houses to live in more secret manner in places where they are not known, or lest any should find any relief among their friends that are not so well provided of their own, this last [Act], Elizabeth 35°, hath restrained their limits and barred all their benefactors, conjuring every one within the circle of five miles compass of his dwelling-place, or where he was born, and forbidding every one to depart out of his limits, upon pain of forfeiting all his goods, and lands also during his life, with imprisonment of his body also for ever, if he be of wealth sufficient; but not being worth forty marks, after three month's imprisonment, wherein they shall probably spend that they have, shall abjure the realm for ever, lest they live too well at home in prison, or want wherewithal to enrich their adversaries' purses, for lack of ability; provided, moreover, that if any shall relieve, maintain, or retain any recusant

that is not either their ward, or within the first degree of consanguinity or affinity unto them, being destitute of a dwelling-place of their own, such a friend relieving shall forfeit 10*l.* every month, after warning given or notice that he hath such persons in his house, or relieved by him. Finally, albeit these laws are most cruel against us, and heresy established by them, and the Church and Catholic religion and profession much injured, as is most evident, yet may we not, under pain of high treason, complain [of] our wrong, or to take her for an heretic, schismatic, or tyrant, or by word or writing publish the same, Elizabeth 13°.

These, with many others of the same stamp, are the laws, orders, and directions set forth by public edict, in this irreligious Government of ours, to the defacing and utter overthrow of the Catholic faith and all true Christianity amongst us; the which laws, as by tract of time they have never remitted anything of their former rigour, but by new additions thereunto from year to year marvellously increased the same, so they manifestly declare the progress of their authors in hatred and malice, and that continually the latter Parliaments do excel the former in cruelty, whereby we may easily conjecture what we daily suffer in these later years, and what more we may expect at their hands in time to come, if God shall permit them long to continue. For if men might gather grapes of thorns, or brambles could yield figs of pleasant taste, then might we also perhaps look for better of so bad a generation, and hope that in time their bloody minds would mollify again; but seeing we are taught by experience, both in these our days and all ages past, that the hatred of heresy is always in growing, and this of ours is so far from recovery that it declineth rather into a plain apostasy, we must prepare ourselves still to suffer, and abide with patience our present trial, *donec fiat mutatio dexteræ Excelsi.*[1]

[1] Until there be "the change of the Right Hand of the Most High." Psalm lxvii. 11.

Two things I do note out of the very laws, whereof the one must of necessity follow, that either by them the prince is made a god, or else religion is nothing with them but a mere policy. What meaneth this precise exaction of conformity in matters of religion, as frequenting their churches, prayers, and sacraments, &c., the which in their laws and statutes they term a natural obedience due to the Queen, if they did not pretend thereby the prince to be more than a creature? For if the obedience in us be natural, then surely the superiority, jurisdiction, and pre-eminence in her is natural, after the same manner as all other princely power belonging to a King or Queen is; then *naturally* may she institute bishops, priests, pastors, and preachers in the Church, and *naturally* give them power to bind, loose, feed, rule, and chastise in all matters belonging to heaven, hell, salvation, damnation, and universally in the spiritual government of men's souls, unto all which things the jurisdiction and authority of the Pope, Christ's Vicar and Vicegerent, did extend: yea, in this she goeth beyond him, in that this authority *naturally* belongeth unto her, which only by grace and to the discharge of a supernatural or spiritual office is granted unto him. And whereas no spiritual jurisdiction can in anywise be natural unto any man, angel, or pure creature whatsoever, save only unto Him whose nature is supernatural, whose essence is the fountain of all grace, and whose power is omnipotency itself, it followeth that she also must attribute unto her something more than is to be found in any creature, in which respect this jurisdiction and spiritual power is natural unto her, and whereby she may, as Queen, exact this natural obedience of us; and consequently, *neque rapinam arbitretur esse se æqualem Deo*,[1] to whom only by nature such pre-eminence and sovereign authority is due. And so without blame may she account and condemn us for traitors, and all our actions

[1] "Thought it not robbery to be equal with God." Philipp. ii. 6.

for treasons, whensoever we deny, withstand, or derogate from this spiritual power, so natural unto our prince's person; and of the contrary, not to esteem it any flattery if we call her our 'saint,' or our 'goddess,' which titles she doth not utterly mislike being offered and attributed unto her Highness sometimes by her flattering clients. And finally, supposing this to be true, it ought not to seem strange unto us to consecrate in religious manner all our substance, our labours and endeavours, both temporal and spiritual, in her sacred service, but to sacrifice also ourselves, our friends, our bodies, lives, and souls to the setting forth, extolling, and maintaining of her celestial power, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction. Now, if shame (whatsoever her arrogancy inclineth her unto) will not permit her to acknowledge these titles, as all Christian ears and hearts abhor to consider it, then surely she cannot avoid the other inconvenience, that by their laws and government religion is perverted into a mere human policy. Every one hearing the name of a king or queen understands nothing else thereby but a secular prince or a temporal governor; neither did I ever hear (to my remembrance) that she did at any time acknowledge or term herself a spiritual magistrate, or take upon her to exercise or execute any spiritual function. Yea, by special words in their injunctions, such offices are excepted and exempted from her. But if she, being but a temporal prince or magistrate, may of her own due and proper or natural authority, or (as the law speaketh,) as Queen or Sovereign, direct, order, reform, and correct all persons, both ecclesiastical and temporal, in all causes also, ecclesiastical or spiritual, as errors, heresies, schisms, &c., then must it of necessity follow that all those persons, actions, and causes depend and are subject unto the temporal magistrate and her government, and consequently to be, of right, by human prudence, wisdom, and policy, ordered and directed. And what other thing is this but flatly to deny that there are

any spiritual or ecclesiastical causes, authority, or jurisdiction at all, and to abolish all faith and religion, with the truth and virtue thereof, and wholly to submit all to man's reason alone; reserving only for a show the bare names and titles of religion, and all religious power, causes, and operations? For sure it is, the effect cannot exceed the virtue of its cause; nor any orderly action the perfection of its rule and direction; nor any inferior science, power, or office, the force, dignity, and end of its superior. Wherefore, if the kingly authority give power, virtue, and direction unto all, then let the soul give place to the carcass, let faith yield to reason, let heaven bow down unto the world. Yea, seeing the power and policy of the King, as he is a King, cannot reach or extend itself to any of these, let us take away and banish quite from our hearts all consideration of what shall befall us after this life, and let us say there is no judgment, no resurrection, no eternity of the soul, no heaven, no felicity, no God,—hell only excepted, the which, will we nill we, shall be the final end of all our policies and assured inheritance of all unbelievers, both princes and subjects. And, verily, this is the religion now embraced amongst the heads, and not abhorred of a great number of followers, as most evidently appeareth, if any list to consider the trees by their fruits, and guess of their minds by their proceedings, practices, and behaviour.

Amongst all that in our time have borne office in this north country, this Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Henry Hastings, may easily take the upper hand of all, for his bloody and cruel mind against Catholic men and their religion; a man, as he is thought, of no deep reach in matters of weight or judgment, yet through continual practice in persecuting us these twenty-two years he has borne the office of President, is grown so ingenious to work us trouble and disquietness, that herein he need not to give place unto any, though they be of greater wit and capacity. What helps he hath herein, you may consider; for he

wanteth not his special authority and commissions, granted him from the higher magistrates of purpose. He is not to seek his directions and instructions, and especially from the old practising Treasurer [Lord Burghley]. He hath his Council of chosen men for the turn, his espials, his informers, his executioners, of picked companions, so ready to run, to seek, to take, to spoil, and to execute whatsoever he biddeth them, with such expedition, such insolency, such cruelty, that neither fear of God, respect of law or equity, nor regard of civil honesty, taketh any place amongst them: and although himself be of a weak constitution of body yet it is incredible what pains he taketh, both day and night, in watching, in writing, in travelling, without respect of frost, snow, and other importunate weather; that a man may well perceive that his malice goeth far beyond his might, yet is his might more than enough, seeing unjustly it oppresseth so many. In religion he is taken for a prince of Puritans, wherein he showeth great zeal and forwardness externally, and all are welcome to him that are accounted friends of that faction. But religion in magistrates is framed now in England, commonly after Machiavel's rule, to make a show of a thing where the substance wanteth, and any may serve well enough if it agree with their policy; and he, being a competitor to the Crown, if any thing fall, supposeth perhaps that sort of people the fittest instruments to compass his purpose, as they accord best with his humour; for their religion consisteth rather of a furious hatred or presumptuous obstinacy to contradict others, than in any positive doctrine of their own, unless it be in singing of a psalm, or hearing of a sermon, wherein they be rather *auditores obliviosi, quam factores verbi*,[1] seeing good works with them are but tokens of papistry. As for others, what estate or calling soever they be of, if they be either suspected to favour the Catholic, or not

[1] Forgetful hearers than doers of the word.

forward in the show of Puritanism, or such as are not ready to employ themselves, or be employed by him and others at his appointment, to the trouble and molestation of their quiet and innocent neighbours, seldom can they have either access to him, or favourable countenance of him; whereas, of the contrary, how base or naughty a companion soever he be, if he be zealous, as they term him, a betrayer of his friends, a spy, an intelligencer, a deceiver, a dissembler, a catchpoll, and such like, but he shall have free access at all times, his favour, his countenance, his hand, his embracing, yea offices and authorities, and what other friendship he shall require; whereby they grow so malapert, that they respect not what injury they do, whom they accuse, slander, oppress. Yea, the best in the county dare not contrary them, lest they be complained of by them unto the President, and receive a check or displeasure for it.

An example may be given of one, Henry Saunderson, a bankrupt merchant, and base companion; yet for his pretended zeal in Puritanism, and Machiavelian subtlety, a special instrument to the President, who being contradicted by the sheriff of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in that he sought to cozen the town in a matter committed to his industry to obtain at the Queen's hands, he began to vaunt of himself, and to make comparisons something odious towards his betters, which moved the sheriff to use some speeches more choleric, and by a letter to challenge him; but Saunderson informing the President thereof, brought the sheriff into disgrace, and forced him to cease from execution of his office, and to substitute another in his place. Another time, being made gaoler of Bransby Castle, a house belonging unto the Earl of Westmoreland, but now a prison for Catholic men, a gentleman had gotten a warrant for the delivery of his wife, being there in hold for her conscience; and Saunderson, the gaoler, demanding his fees, the gentleman opened his purse, laid forth

money as much as he thought sufficient, willing him to take his right, saying, "Mr. Gaoler, serve yourself." But he took it so grievously that the gentleman called him a gaoler (though he were so indeed) that he informed the President that the gentleman had abused him; whereupon the gentleman's wife was still kept a prisoner, notwithstanding the former warrant.

A worshipful squire, being Catholic, in a search at his house, offered by issuing forth to make his escape, having two of his sons in company with him, whereof the one chanced in his father's defence to break the head of one in the company that had leaped over the wall, before any commission was known: but the gentleman was carried away, and his two sons committed to prison for the fact; and himself in the end, was forced by the President to pay 26*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* unto Pinkston (that was the fellow's name) in way of satisfaction for his broken head. The same gentleman, before that, had his house searched by one Cobham and two other catchpolls, accompanied with certain of the President's men, who spoiled his house, and took away his silver plate, and other things of value; and the undersheriff of the shire being sent in the bishop's behalf, to see that no outrage were committed contrary to equity, seeing Cobham and his fellows taking away the gentleman's goods, and being demanded why he would suffer it, answered that he durst not contrary them, though he knew it were injustice. Many more examples I could allege to show what credit and sway such cozening companions do bear with the President; whereas others of the best worship and wisdom in the country are rejected, and scarce well looked upon, because their credit and honesty doth not permit them to be employed in every base and odious enterprise at his pleasure.

And of these kinds of men he hath such plenty and variety, that not only his own household and family consisteth most of them, but every place in the country is

replenished, punished, pestered, and oppressed with them. Some are set to observe, watch, and oversee every man's actions, behaviours, and inclinations, and thereof to give continual notice and information. Some are employed by flattery, colour of friendship, and show of religion, not only to associate themselves, enter in, and sift out every man's secret actions and intentions, but also to push and draw men into divers companies, places, and exercises, to that end they may accuse them, or bring them into danger or trouble. Some are instructed and warranted by precepts and particular commissions to search, examine, apprehend, and carry to prison, when and whom they list, as by intelligence they shall be advertised, or by false brethren matters shall be bewrayed unto them; others are placed in public office and authority, to countenance, aid, assist these other catchpolls, that no resistance be made nor any attempt be fustrate, as justices of the peace, bailiffs, constables, churchwardens, and head commissioners, also sheriffs and undersheriffs, &c., in which rooms such men are most preferred who are most forward in Puritanism, or of least conscience, reason, and honesty, not only of the laity, but also of the ministry. And if it happen that any officer seem negligent, calm, of mild disposition, loth to be a persecutor or disturber of his neighbours, or [do] any thing to favour the afflicted, then means are devised, either to sharpen and prick them forward by checks, threats, or flatteries, or else utterly to discountenance or displace them, and thrust into their rooms others of less honesty, and more cruelty; wherein such diligent care is had, that in such offices as go by election of voices, or are at the disposition of some other superior officers, the President seeketh by covert means to have them at his own appointment. Thus he entreateth and indenteth with divers gentlemen in the country, that, if it be their lot to be chosen into the office of sheriff, they will be content he shall have the nomination of their undersheriff; so

likewise in corporate towns, to have the mayors and other officers at his disposition. Whereby it cometh to pass that both sheriffs and other superior officers, of their own nature otherwise modest and reasonable, are forced to use much cruelty, lest they be accused of slackness by their own substitutes, being factors for the President. Yea, if they deal little or nothing at all in person, yet shall they be the authors of much mischief, injury, and injustice, by means of these substitutes, who will take upon them in their names, to execute their office at their pleasure and discretion; who, if they abuse this authority, yet dare they not correct or find fault with them, lest they incur thereby the President's displeasure. By this means many that seem well affected, yet either to win credit, which otherwise cannot be gotten, or for avoiding of disgrace and further inconvenience, are drawn by little and little into these bad actions and causes, that, lest they should be suspected to bear the affection they have in deed, they become more cruel than the rest, and using themselves no otherwise than lions by kind, amongst whom they are muzzled and trained: *Didicerunt prædam capere et homines devorare, et viduas et civitates eorum in desertum adducere.*[1] Finally the whole country framing themselves after these examples, and desirous to feed the humours of such heads, partly for fear and partly to gain favour, are become ready and forward to execute whatsoever they are invited or called unto; as appeared by the search made at Candlemas was a twelvemonth, when the whole country over Yorkshire, Richmondshire, Bishopric, Northumberland, were up upon one night to search and rifle Catholic men's houses, in such numbers that some one poor house was set about and sacked with one hundred, six score, and seven score men at once: at which time, although the chief commissions for searching were directed to the justices and certain other other trusty

1 "And learn to catch prey, to devour men, to make widows; and the land became desolate." Ezech. xix. 6, 7.

and forward fellows (who ordinarily are joined in commission to oversee the justices' actions, that no favour be showed) yet every one for his credit did thrust himself into action among the commissioners, breaking, spoiling, tossing, and turning poor Catholics' houses at their pleasure, a thing tolerated and winked at in such affairs. What need I speak of the diligence was used, not only in sifting every corner of their houses, chambers, parlours, stables, barns, lofts, privies, chimnies, yea, the fields and woods abroad also, so that no place remained unsought; no door, chest, coffer, desk, casket, or whatsoever thing was locked, was left unlocked, or broken open if the keys were not presently brought; but also for divers days and especially nights going before, all fords, bridges, and passengers were laid, and the houses watched, to mark who passed to and fro, and what resort or company was in every place; yea, small respect of civility or compassion was used; for at the same time, a Catholic gentlewoman, Mrs. Foulthroppe by name, being in travail of child, the midwife being with her, and having sent one of her maids into the town to call for the company of wives to assist her in that time of danger and extremity, the searchers in the meantime coming and besetting the house, would neither permit the wives, nor yet the maid that was sent to call them, to enter in to help her mistress; the gentlewoman labouring without sufficient company, was glad to use the help of such persons as she had of her own, and God assisting her, she was delivered of two children; and after the searchers, threatening to burst open the door where the gentlewoman was, were let in, searched her chamber, not sparing the very bed wherein she lay, thrusting their swords into the same, and frightening the poor gentlewoman in such sort, that she never recovered her perfect health, and died not long after. And because they would not have the innocent children to escape their part of misery, they made the father write a bond of a good sum of money, to cause them to be

carried unto the heretics' church, and to be christened by a minister in contempt of their mother's religion.

Apprehension of Mr. Anthony Page, priest.

In this present search upon Candlemas day morning, was Mr. Anthony Page,[1] the priest, taken in a gentleman's house within half a mile of York, whose name was William Thwing, his sister, Anne Thwing, a Catholic, keeping the house, and her brother at that time lying in the city. A little conveyance [hiding place] had been made in a place where the hay was laid, whither the priest was conveyed for avoiding the peril of search, but the entrance thereof not being well stopped, one of the searchers climbing up upon the hay fell into the place wherein Mr. Anthony was, and so was he taken, whereat great joy was made, and the President himself, not a little rejoicing, and the rather, because the gentleman's house stood in a very convenient place and was a pretty building, and he thought by this occasion to pick a quarrel unto it; wherefore, presently the gentleman himself was sought for, and understanding he was in the city, was apprehended, committed, indicted, arraigned, and in great peril to be condemned, though he pleaded both *his* absence and ignorance of the matter; and certainly he had been condemned, if his sister had not voluntarily and boldly come in before the judges and jury, protested her brother's ignorance of the matter, and affirmed constantly withal that it was her own deed, and that she had received and kept the man of God, without her brother's consent and knowledge. Upon which evidence, contrary to all men's expectation, the jury quit [acquitted] the gentleman, and

[1] Anthony Page was of the family of the Pages of Harrow, and therefore a connection of the Bellamys of Uxendon. The Thwings of Heworth Hall, near York, were excellent Catholics, and the family had the honour of martyrdom in the person of two of its members, both priests, Edward Thwing, who suffered at Lancaster, July 26, 1600, and Thomas Thwing, the last martyred priest, who suffered at York, Oct. 23, 1680. "In 1604 there was living in St. Cuthbert's parish, York, [Jane] Thwing, wife of William Thwing, Esq., old recusants." Peacock, p. 57.

so he was dismissed. His sister [was] committed to prison in his place, who remaining constant in her profession, doth still abide in prison, and (as I think) uncondemned. Whereby it may appear what mark those persecutors shoot at, who upon small presumption would have condemned the brother upon whom the living depended, and so easily spared the sister confessing the fact, because no lucre else they expected by her death, save only that her innocent blood being shed unjustly would cry unto God for revenge against their tyranny.

Father Anthony Page in the meantime during his imprisonment behaved himself so well, that by his innocent and mild conversation he gained the hearts of his very adversaries, who easily would have spared his life if he would have consented to any little show of relent or conformity; insomuch that if he would have granted only to have conferred (for that they take for a sign of indifferency, or of no obstinate mind, as they call it) with any layman in the company, but he refused to do so; as also to dispute or confer with ministers, whom they made repair unto him in prison. But being urged thereunto [he] answered that he would admit no private conference; but if they would dispute openly, then he would be content to be one amongst the rest to defend the Catholic faith, if the Fathers at Wisbech should think it convenient. The gaoler's wife, moved with compassion towards his innocency, demanded of him once if he had any friends that would labour or disburse anything to obtain his liberty; to whom he said that he thought that he had friends that would travail for him if it were a money matter; but afterwards perceiving his execution a little prolonged, he repented himself of his answer, signifying unto a friend of his that he thought his own words would hinder his crown, whereof he declared himself to be sorry. But in all his extremities he was very joyful and much comforted in mind; the which he could not

conceal outwardly with a most pleasant and smiling countenance, declaring the inward joy he felt in heart, and that before the President and other officers until his execution, insomuch that the commissioners and officers charged him sometimes that he mocked and laughed them to scorn; behaving himself always as mild as a lamb, whereby he was made a sacrifice unto God most sweet and acceptable in His presence: *Vere Israelita, in quo non erat dolus,*[1] in whom the dove's simplicity was to be seen joined together with equal wisdom of the serpent, stopping his ears unto the wicked charms of heretics, exposing all his body to death, quartering, burning, and boiling, to save his Catholic head of faith from wounds of infidelity, and hazarding to pass through the strait hole of a violent end, that being thereby spoiled of his mortal and corruptible carcass, he might enjoy the robe of immortality. Observing therein also a wonderful modesty and perfect contempt of his own will and judgment, whereby he framed himself to follow the advice and counsel of his Catholic brethren abroad, so sincerely and with such humility, that he desired always to be directed by them; neither would he willingly, even in matters concerning his confession and martyrdom, enterprise anything, if he did not first perceive that it was agreeable unto the judgment of his brethren, as by several letters directed unto them did appear.

What singular good zeal he had of souls, but especially towards the salvation of his carnal friends and kinsfolks who lived in schism, may appear most evidently, not only by his long and dangerous journeys taken into the south country purposely to visit and persuade with them to return home again unto their Catholic Mother, the Church of Christ, but also by his letters directed unto them out of prison, a little before his execution. One of them directed unto his uncle, I delivered unto you, and since that time I found amongst my papers another of his own hand, written unto his mother, the which I should have sent unto her for a

[1] A true Israelite in whom there was no guile.

token and his last farewell unto her; but that I had laid it up so surely, that I could not tell where to find it; but now the copy of it I here send unto you, desiring you to send a copy of the same unto his mother, for the letter itself was almost perished with the moisture of the place where it was kept, that I could not well send it, lest it should be cancelled in the carriage. His words then are these:

"Dear Mother,

"As nature bindeth me to have care of your temporal prosperity, insomuch that I were bound to minister relief unto you, if necessity oppressed you, and sufficient were given to me by the bounty of Almighty God; so (yea a thousand times more) doth the supernatural bond of charity, being added unto nature, bind me to have care of your soul and eternal salvation; which in truth, in part you have perceived heretofore, both by my presence and also by my writing; but because they took no place, and it hath pleased Almighty God of His infinite goodness to open the burning desire of my heart unto you, by such a work as cannot choose but make you sensibly feel my charitable affection towards you; that, where persuasion could not take place, yet at the least the very force and efficacy of deeds, might convince you to say that the finger of God was in them, and consequently for them, to believe my words. If then the continual prayers and tears of the mother of St. Austin were of such effect, that St. Ambrose doubted not to say that the son of so many tears could not perish, some comfortable confidence then must I needs take that you at the length will recall yourself, being sought by me (your unworthy son) not with tears, but with the shedding of my blood; and this I offer unto Almighty God as a sacrifice, not only for mine own sins, which are most grievous, but also, and that particularly, in the behalf of your poor soul, which in truth, God knoweth, was the chief cause of

my venturing my life, and the only cause of my coming soon into the danger. And for the love of God, and care which you ought to have of your own soul, I desire you, by the bitter passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to accept this my voluntary oblation of my life, and shedding of my blood, as a most forcible vocation and calling of Almighty God, and most sure token of my inflamed charity towards you; for no man hath greater charity than to lose his life for his friend. Neither ought this to breed any grief in you that you want your son, for that such a death is the greatest dignity which a child can possibly be preferred unto in the world; which was the cause why the mother of seven sons, whom we read of in the Machabees, stood by them all, and most forcibly animated them to suffer so glorious a death as it was to die for righteousness' sake, unto which is promised the present possession of the kingdom of heaven; and precious in the sight of God is the death of his saints. Wherefore (because I cannot be long) take comfort in these words rehearsed.

"Your obedient son,

"ANTHONY PAGE, Pr."

This letter was written the 30th day of March, 1593, a few days before his execution, which was the 20th of April following. But let us return again unto the matter we begun to speak of. As the officers appointed are commonly men of least conscience, and most forward in heretical fury, so great care is taken by the President and other superiors to espy out, preserve, and cherish such persons as are of evil demeanour and bad conditions, whereby, as out of a seminary of all mischief, they may never want fit instruments to supply the places of such as either by death are taken away, or for their good services are advanced to higher offices. In this sort did the President, and doth yet, most unjustly, and not without great damages, by daily, or rather nightly incursions

made into the country, towns, hamlets, granges, and outhouses of many inhabitants, stay and hinder that the law should not proceed against a company of thieves, outlaws, and spoilers of their neighbours and country, who upon a night had made a raid into the Bishopric, and therein had taken and driven away almost all the beasts and cattle of a town called Ayston,[1] and the thieves being known and the fact proved, the persons injured can have neither law to proceed against the malefactors, nor redress of their losses and injuries sustained, because the President putteth off their suit from time to time, pretending, notwithstanding, in words, that he will do what he can to make them have justice, but indeed protecting the malefactors because they be fit men (as they term it) to do the Queen good service. How commodious they be in the mean time in his affairs, living at liberty, God wot; but the town aforesaid, and parish thereof, do complain that, since the former fact committed, which is now about one year ago, they have sustained about 700*l.* damages by the former offenders and their adherents, while they cannot be permitted to obtain justice. What other injuries are committed in other places, by the same men, I leave it to your own estimation, especially they being many of them gentlemen, and such as bear a sway and countenance in the country.

A burgess of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, of good credit and estimation, was falsely accused unto the President, and defamed by two wicked fellows, his own tenants, suborned by one Hinde, the searcher of the town, with hope of some preferment [by] the President, in divers articles touching not only his credit, but also his life, if any of them could have been proved against him, and in especial that he was a favourer of the Earls of Westmoreland and

[1] Ayton, East and West, and Ayton, Great and Little, are all in Yorkshire, and not in "the Bishopric," that is Durham. Canon Tierney misread the name Clifton.

Northumberland; but when no matter could be avouched upon him, and the one man's conscience something ashamed of so bad a part towards his master, refused to pursue so heinous an enterprise any further, but revealed it to his master. The burgess requested at the President's hands that he might have law and justice against his accusers for his injury and slander sustained; but the President not enduring that such honest companions should have reward according to their deserts, answered that if such men should be punished there should be none found that would give informations for the Queen, insinuating thereby most evidently what good and gracious disposition those men be of, whom ordinarily they employ in their government.

John Spence, godson unto Mr. Trollope, and his father, being his household servant from his youth, for betraying his master and godfather, being then a Catholic, was therefore entertained into the President's service. Francis Eglesfield for betraying Mr. John Boast, and one Thomson for apprehending Sir Henry Stapper, priests, were therefore accepted to wear the President's cloth; men void of all grace and honesty, whereof the last named had a commission granted him from his lord and master (as he boasted himself, for his good service, and further preferment) to search Catholic or such suspected places in Richmondshire where he dwelt, when, and as often as he listed. And indeed, about Christmas last, he searched the most of the Catholic houses thereabouts; during which commission (which I fear is not yet expired, for they grant sometimes commissions dormant, which few know of besides themselves), there happened a certain man to pass through fields near the town where a pursuivant dwelt; and not perfect in the way whither he was to go, demanded of one ploughing in the field the way unto a place, naming the house of a Catholic. The ploughman, suspecting the traveller, as it should seem, to be a priest,

being in apparel something scholarlike, showed him the way, saying withal unto him that he took him for a *good man*; for so Catholics used to call their Catholic priests. "Yea," said the traveller, "that I am." Then the ploughman began to moan himself and the case of other Catholics thereabouts, as though himself had been one indeed; that they were in great distress of sacraments, for want of *good men* to help them, desiring withal that it would please him to do them that friendship, as in some place to serve them in their need. To whom the other man said that if he would come in the morning unto the gentlewoman's house thereby, he would serve his turn; and so went on his way. The ploughman supposing to have found a prey for his neighbour, Topcliffe,[1] informed him of all [that] had passed between him and the traveller, describing the man by his shape, his apparel, and a dog that followed him. [Topcliffe] called his mates together, [and] assured them of a prey. Early in the morning [they] beset the gentlewoman's house, enter in by virtue of their commission, search up and down in every corner to find the priest, but fail of their purpose. In the meantime the traveller who had been there the evening before, and after lodged all night in a town hard by, cometh unto the door, knocketh at the gate; the pursuivant[2] playing the porter for the time openeth, and by the description of his person given him before, suspecting he was the man he sought for, examined him what he was. "A man," quoth he, "as you see." "So I perceive," said the other, "but I ween you be the man we seek for." "It may be so," quoth he. "What," saith he,[3] "are you not a priest?" "No," quoth he, "I am no priest: but if you had said I was a clerk you had guessed better, for I am indeed the clerk of *such a town*,

[1] The word Topcliffe is erased, but can be clearly traced.
[2] The name is also erased, and in another hand *pursuivant* inserted.
[3] So here, and the word *he* substituted.

naming the town."[1] And so the whole fable ended pleasantly. Yet hereby you may perceive by what means many times Catholics fall into trouble, the watchfulness of our persecutors, and virtue of their commissions.

Luke Hutton, nephew unto the false Bishop of Durham that now is, from a cut-throat and common thief, was preferred by his uncle unto the office of the bailiff of Sadberge,[2] and a prison being in the town, for his more commodity was made gaoler unto the Catholic prisoners; who being practised before in picking men's purses was thought a more fit instrument to impoverish his prisoners; wherein he used such art and industry, that, if he could have observed any reason or mean in his own expenses, his gain might easily have maintained him after the port of a gentleman. But lightly come (as the proverb is) is lightly gone; and evil gotten is worse spent. Divers were committed unto his custody, both worshipful and others, with whom he dealt in this manner. At their first committing to prison he would make them pay a fine of five marks, three pounds, forty shillings, or as much as he could wring out of them by extremities; for some of them he thrust down into a low dungeon or vault under the ground, where there was neither light nor air convenient for man's health to live eight days to an end without danger of death or other grievous malady. There would he shut up the poor men until they compounded with him according unto his desire; and when he had thus wrung out of them, and racked the poor men to disburse more than they were able to get many times (for the Catholic gentlemen there imprisoned were contented to collect and disburse the money for them sometimes, lest the poor men's want should occasion their greater distress at the cruel gaoler's hands, in whom there was neither pity nor mercy) then afterwards

[1] The name completely erased, and the words in italics inserted.

[2] Sadbery, in the gaol of which place Mrs. Killingale was imprisoned. *Supra*, p. 11, *note*.

they were at more quiet with him. One poor Catholic having been thrust down for a few days, and after composition permitted the liberty of the upper house, remained something heavy that he had [a]light[ed] into the custody of so cruel a keeper; whom the gaoler perceiving to be sad and nothing well contented, came to him and said, to comfort him withal, "Be of good cheer, man, the worst is past;" declaring thereby that the desire of lucre was the cause of his cruelty. The gentlemen being better able to buy his friendship, which only was to be purchased with money, lived at the gaoler's table and diet, paying *7s.* weekly for every man's commons, which was a sufficient gain to the gaoler, their fare well considered, which ordinarily was nothing else but a piece of salt beef; which kind of diet the gentlemen not being acquainted withal, as also hurtful to the health of some of them, they requested of the gaoler's wife that, seeing they paid so well for their commons, that at the least she would provide for them some wholesome fare, or that their beef might be more fresh, or better steeped; but the covetous woman supposing that, if she should condescend unto their petition, that then the toothsomeness of their slender allowance would be a mean that, her guests feeding more liberally thereon, nothing would remain in the empty dishes for the sustenance of her family, which altogether depended upon the gentlemen's charges and allowance, answered them very thriftily, that there was no profit or thrift in so doing. Wherefore they, fearing some inconvenience by their diet, made suit unto the gaoler that they might be permitted to be at their own diet, yielding unto him for the rent of their chamber (for they were all thrust up together in one) 30*l.* yearly, which was agreed upon, and some part of the rent paid beforehand; but within a while, the gaoler perceiving a want in his housekeeping, because he swept no crumbs after them, as he was wont to do, sought to draw them again unto his table, as before; but they refusing

to be any more at his diet, having both made a covenant with him otherways and paid their money, and also having been at great charges for buying pots, pans, and other vessels and implements, with hired servants to employ about their necessaries, he shut them all up close in their chamber not suffering any to have access unto them; but if their servants or other friends came, he searched them, sometimes unto the very shirt and saddle, read their letters, and showed other extremities unto them; seeking by this means, either to find some matter against them, for fear whereof he should in time make them incline unto his desire, or by wearing them out with extremities, force them to return unto his table; in which case they remained until he, being known for committing a robbery, was forced to fly his house and forsake his office.

This same, besides the offices aforesaid, pretended to have a commission: I know not if he had one in truth, or not; but he had gathered into a scroll a great sort of names of Catholics within the Bishopric, whom he said the bishop had granted him to be his prisoners if he could apprehend them. Wherefore he took upon him to search their houses, and did apprehend divers Catholics, and carried them straight unto his gaol, without presenting them unto any other officer; but of his own authority committed them, and for bribes of monies and certain annual penalties and pensions covenanted with them, did, without further warrant, enlarge them, and promised to protect them, or at the least not to trouble them; thinking thereby better to make a gain of them abroad than to pester his house with too many at once, having no convenient room to receive them. And amongst other his bold attempts, he presumed to search a gentleman's house, called Henry Lawson, a man conformable unto the laws, his wife being a Catholic, and in prison otherwheres for her conscience, and without any warrant at all apprehended the gentleman himself, and carried him straight unto his

prison. But the bishop, or his secretary by his consent, understanding the matter, was so far from rebuking him for his act, that by a letter written unto him he greatly commended his forwardness, and withal, lest the gentleman should sue him of an action of false imprisonment, sent him a warrant for his apprehension after the deed was done, having no matter colourable to charge the gentleman withal.

In searching of one Catholic's house he happened to light upon a sum of money of ten pounds, belonging unto Margaret Henfield, a Catholic woman, being absent; the which he took and carried away, and would not restore it unless the woman herself would come in and make claim unto it; but she being afraid of being committed to his prison for her conscience if she should appear, was glad to forego her money. In the end, no bribes, no extortions, exactions, and spoil of poor Catholic men sufficing the lust of such a prodigal, drunken, and licentious fellow, he fell again unto his ancient trade of theft, burglary, and robbery, associating and alluring unto his fellowship a company of licentious youths, of whom he became captain himself, and, as a master expert, and well practised in the science, began to train and embolden his novices with such authority, skill, and audacity, that none could pass the streets where they haunted but he was discharged of his money, if his purse were not empty: not forgetting therein the office and authority of a commissioner in exacting an oath of such as were spoiled, that they should not bewray them, or raise the cry after them, that so with more security they might watch other preys of passengers coming after. So that, in one day, there chanced at several times above twenty-six persons to be spoiled by them in the very open street, where there were neither woods nor other places of refuge to convey themselves unto, if, being descried, the country had sought to pursue them. Finally, after many injuries and robberies committed, wherefore he was forced to fly the country,

through his lewd demeanours (as he was a man given over unto all mischief and vicious living) he fell into disease, and now in Scotland, if he be not already dead, there liveth in great shame, distress, and misery.

What should I speak of Richard Outlaw, Collier, Robson, Saunderson, Spain, Rollinson, Bannister, Scarcroft, and a great number more, of no better disposition than the former, whose lives, practices, and behaviours are [so] notorious, that if I should write all I hear reported by the mouths of credible persons, I should easily fill a whole book with tragical discourses of their infamous actions? This, I have already said, may suffice to give some aim what disposition the rest are of, and what kind of men they be that now-a-days are desired, chosen, and employed for principal instruments and actors of this present persecution; who being of their own nature and vicious inclination prone to exercise cruelty, you may easily conjecture what mischief they are like to practice against Catholic men, to whose oppression they are destinate principally, if their proceedings be not only to the show justified with pretence of law, but also confirmed and warranted by special authority and particular commissions, directed and given unto them: the which they always interpret in such ample sense and execute with such rigour, that the only name of their commission serveth them to justify all actions and injuries committed by them, where the words and construction of their commissions doth by no means insinuate any licence to approve many voluntary attempts.

And because, after the Wise Man's experience, *Vidimus sub sole in loco judicii impietatem, et in loco justitiæ iniquitatem,*[1] let us first consider the authority of the President, and other chief officers, with the use or abuse thereof, and from them descend unto their inferior

[1] We have seen "under the sun in the place of judgment wickedness, and in the place of justice iniquity." Eccles. iii. 16.

vassals. The President in this north country hath had, and hath yet, as he taketh upon him, three several and printed authorities granted unto him, of president, of lieutenant, and also of a head commissioner, next after the supposed Archbishop of York, who is the foremost and first of that commission. By the two former he supplieth the place of the Prince's Majesty (except in such matters as are proper unto the Prince's person and Privy Council, or in some other cases excepted and reserved) in all temporal affairs, politic and martial; by the last he hath to deal in causes concerning religion, together with the rest joined with him in the commission; wherein, notwithstanding he make a show to the contrary, yet in truth all is directed, ordered, and executed at his pleasure and according unto his only will and appointment, neither can or dare the rest do anything, but strive only which way to please and feed his humour; yea, he useth these several offices in such sort, that he maketh one of them to countenance the other, and confounding their distinct functions and places, applieth either of them to perform the office of the rest. In this wise, sitting as a head commissioner upon religious matters, he terrifieth with the name [of] lieutenant, making no difference between peace and war, and threatening to execute martial law upon afflicted Catholics if they refuse to show friendship and conformity to schism and heresy; to which effect provost-marshals were appointed in divers places to put them in fear thereof. The same time, which was immediately upon the great proclamation, were a great number of justices of peace appointed commissioners, to take informations, call, and examine all Catholics; and afterwards letters were directed again unto some of them, that they should further inquire and inform unto the Privy Council if there were any of the said commissioners appointed that had either his wife or his son a Catholic recusant, that all such might be put off the commission as

not fit for the office, and others more forward and less suspected to show favour might be substitute in their places. These had bailiffs appointed to serve all process directed by them, and the ministers, churchwardens, and other picked men for the purpose, were directed to give informations upon their oaths unto them, and they themselves at certain times appointed and agreed upon, to sit upon these matters, and to make relation and certificate unto the Council above of all the names of those that were presented unto them, and their other manner of proceeding. This inquiry and information was so strictly and diligently observed, that no Catholic householder, servant, or other escaped unpresented; for the churchwardens being sworn, durst not omit or show favour unto any, lest they should incur the danger of perjury, having others joined with them of purpose to oversee their actions, and to observe and inform against them if they discharged not their oath, and withal to supply their defect if by chance, or through ignorance, any escaped unpresented. And of this I suppose you have received something in my other letters before.

And at the same time (that is, two years and a half since), and to the same effect, a commission was directed unto them that an oath should be tendered unto all Catholics, both in prison and abroad, whether at any time they had been solicited, moved, or persuaded by either Jesuit or Seminary priest, &c., that if an invasion should be made by the Pope, or other foreign prince or power, they should take part against their Queen and country; and a speech was given forth, that they were in mind to execute martial law upon all that should not answer to their contentment. The prisoners were sworn unto the article aforesaid, and without oath examined in divers other questions proposed unto them, and process was directed for others abroad, that they likewise should present themselves to do the same. In this commission

no authority was granted to commit such as appeared; yet nevertheless they committed some, others did they force either to enter into bond to appear before the Lord President, at time set down, or else presently to go to prison, which was no small inconvenience; for that was in effect to bind them never to be freed from trouble again.

The President therefore intending, about Lammas 'size following (which was Anno Domini 1592), to assault the constancy of Catholics by a more cruel and fierce onset than before, sent out his process and precepts abroad, commanding, not only the Catholics, but also such as, being conformable themselves, had their wives recusants, that, upon peril of further inconvenience, they should make their appearance and present themselves or their wives before him and the rest of the commission at Durham or Newcastle. He came first to Durham, but little was there said unto any: from thence to Newcastle, where the gentlemen of Northumberland were to appear. There the President appointed to sit in commission, in his own chamber, in H. Saunderson's house, something privately; having with him in his company, to make up a sufficient commission, one Stanhope, of the Council at York, whom he brought with him of purpose out of Yorkshire, lest the Bishopric should not afford him such commissioners of their own as were best for his purpose. In this commission sat the President, the supposed Bishop of Durham, Matthew Hutton, Toby Matthews, also called Dean of Durham, with others. There were called in, Mr. Ralph Gray, then Sheriff of Northumberland, and Mr. William Fenwicke, in behalf of their Catholic wives: but they, being men otherways not only conformable, but also well thought of for their forwardness to be employed, got despatched in the end, although at that present it appeared some rigour was shown unto them, in entering bond for bringing in of their wives, &c.

Then was Mr. Francis Ratcliffe, Esq., being a Catholic

himself, called into the chamber, and there continued two or three hours among them, and was examined in many things; yea, and reasoned withal, in many points of faith and religion, whereof, as yet, I could not certainly get the particulars: but he behaved himself in his answers very wisely and well; for he was one that had understanding, and bestowed some time in reading matters of controversy. But this also I was assured of by very credible persons, that, all the time he was before them, the President forced him to sit upon his knees [*i.e.* to kneel], a thing not used, neither of duty to be exacted, unless the Prince's person were in place, or some of her Prime Council did there [re]present the same; and the like was exacted upon those that appeared at Durham soon after, unless they were such whom the President did vouchsafe some favour unto. Whereby you may see what mark he aimeth at, who, of his own head, taketh so much upon him. This gentleman being committed prisoner, for no other matter but only for refusing to go to their heretical church, the rest were commanded to attend at Durham, where they sat again in commission: at which place were committed, and used in like sort, Mr. Thomas Collingwood, a gentleman of Northumberland (who, notwithstanding, escaped from his gaoler, H. Saunderson, as he was to be conveyed to prison), Lancelot Hodson, with others being Catholics. Also divers other gentlemen, yet conformable (as they term them) were called in for their Catholic wives. These also were commanded to sit upon their knees; and being demanded if they had their process or writs about them, served on them for their appearance, and showing the same, the President took them and would not suffer them to have them again. What the mystery of it was I wot not; but it seemed there was something in it not justifiable by law. In the end, these gentlemen were constrained to enter into bond of recognisance for the bringing in of their wives, or else

to go to prison themselves. The conditions of which bonds were these, in form as followeth.

"The condition of this recognisance is such that, if the above bounden R. F. do, from henceforth, provide and procure that, morning and evening prayers, as is appointed and set down in the Book of Common Prayer, be publicly read in his house three days in every week at the least, viz., Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, at the which himself, his children, his household and servants (except his wife) to be present, having no lawful excuse of their absence (for the which he shall answer); and do not retain and keep in his house any other person which shall not dutifully and usually resort to the church to hear Divine service, and reverently receive the Holy Communion, so often yearly as is appointed in the said Book of Common Prayer; and do not admit or suffer any Jesuit, Seminary or Popish priest, nor any person that shall be known to him to be disobedient in matter of religion now established within this realm, to remain or usually to repair in or to his said house, other than the now wife of the said R.F.: and further, if A., the now wife of the said R., shall be and personally appear before three of Her Majesty's commissioners for causes ecclesiastical within the province of York, whereof the most reverend father, the Lord Archbishop of York his grace, the right honourable the Lord President of Her Highness' Council in the north, and Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord Bishop of Durham, and the right worshipful Mr. Dean of Durham, to be one, at such day, hour, and place as upon fourteen days' warning to be given at the now dwelling-house of the said R. shall be appointed and declared. And lastly, if neither the said A., nor any of his said household or family, shall have any conference with any such Jesuit, Seminary priest, Papist, or other notorious disobedient person in matters of religion, then this recognisance to be void, or else to stand in full power

and virtue. *Capt. et recog. apud Dunclm. 26 August. An. Domini* 1592 *coram, &c.*"

If any did refuse to accept of these conditions, he was presently committed to prison. Amongst the rest, there was one who had been afore, by the like injury, forced to bring in his wife; and she having continued thereby in divers prisons, restrained of liberty four or five years, to the great damage of her husband, he made suit, in the end, unto the Council above and obtained her liberty, upon bond to appear before the Privy Council, upon certain days' warning; which recognisance notwithstanding, the President commanded him to bring her in again before him, and he, refusing to do it, because he was otherways bound to the Council, was himself committed to prison by the President, and there remained nine weeks. In the meantime he laboured unto the Council again, and his bill was preferred at the Council table; whereupon, after the cause being examined and discussed, the Council directed out letters unto the Bishop in the man's behalf, in form following.

"After our hearty commendations, to your lordship, humble suit hath been moved unto us by T. N., &c., that, whereas, eight or nine years since, E., the wife of this suppliant, being with divers other women committed for recusancy in the gaols of Sadberge and York, was, by virtue of letters directed from us to our very good lord, the Earl of Huntingdon, set at liberty, upon good bonds entered into by the said suppliant for the appearance and forthcoming of his said wife, within twenty days' warning next after, before us; which was done at the special suit of the husbands of the same women, who, notwithstanding their wives' obstinacy, are very conformable themselves in religion, and live like good subjects in due obedience towards Her Majesty and her laws, and therefore had their wives delivered to their charge, in hope of some conformity by their good persuasion to be wrought in

them: Forasmuch as we are credibly given to understand that, notwithstanding the bonds so taken, as abovesaid, for their forthcoming before us, the said T. N. is of late imprisoned in that gaol of Durham for not bringing in his said wife before you and the rest of the commissioners ecclesiastical of that diocese, fearing lest she should be imprisoned, to his utter undoing, as heretofore she had been, for the four or five years; We have, therefore, thought good to pray and require your lordship to let the said N. at liberty, upon good bonds to be taken of the suppliant for his wife's good behaviour, as is accustomed in like cases, and for her forthcoming before us, within twenty days next after warning given him, or within some convenient time to be set down by you in that behalf. So praying your lordship to have care for the performance hereof, we bid you very heartily farewell. From the Court at Greenwich, the 24th of May, 1591. Your very loving friends, L. Arch. Cant., L. Chancellor, L. Treasurer, L. Darby, L. Cobham, L. Buckhurst."

Upon which letters the Bishop set him at liberty, taking bond of him, as was appointed by the Council's letters. But now, these letters notwithstanding, which had been of sufficient virtue in a matter of greater weight to have kept the man from further injury, the President committed him again for the same, that is to say, for not bringing in his wife to appear before him; and [he] remained in Durham gaol for the space of a year after, to his exceeding great loss of his goods at home, by default of his care and presence. Whereby it may appear what small regard of conscience, law, or reason is used by those who bear the name of head commissioners, especially by the President himself, who, neither observing the rules of his commission, nor yet the letters and directions of the Privy Council, from whom all his authority granted him doth proceed, calleth, committeth, and punisheth by imprisonment, without colour of justice,

as oft, how long, and whom he listeth; laying most impious and unreasonable bonds, prohibitions, conditions, and penalties upon the husbands, yea, upon the children and whole families, to the utter overthrow of their souls, not for the wives' fault, but for their sincere faith, constancy, and religious profession.

As for the inferior officers and other men, used as necessary instruments to procure and maintain this persecution against us, they are principally employed to espy, betray, search, apprehend, spoil, and otherwise to molest and injure us, in all matters and by all means they can devise, without controlment, and as far as God's judgment or mercy hath preordinate to permit them, for our better purgation and trial, and greater glories of His Divine Majesty, with our increase of grace and glory. One notable example I intend here to set down, for a scantling, to weigh and measure thereby their malice and manner of behaviour towards us, in the rest of their practices, by a search made before Christmas last at York, in the castle, where the Catholics are kept in durance for the defence and profession of their faith. The President had been informed, by the means of a false brother and others his intelligencers, that there was a Seminary priest kept among the Catholic prisoners secretly, whose name, visage, and personage they made particular description of. Wherefore the President ordained a search, which begun upon Tuesday morning about seven or eight o'clock, being the 18th day of December, 1593, and continued until eight o'clock at night upon Thursday following. The manner of their proceeding was signified unto me by several letters out of the castle, in these words following.

"Whereas many of our friends, we doubt not, are not only sorrowful for our losses and spoil, happened unto us by the Lord President's appointment, but also desirous to know the manner and cause how it chanced unto us; these may be, therefore, to signify unto all our benefactors and

well-wishers that upon Tuesday, the 18th of December, Mr. Rokeby, one of her Majesty's Council at York, came into the castle, where we are imprisoned, with a great company of men; whereupon we grew in some suspicion of a search, and, looking out at our windows, suddenly we see the castle beset round about with bills and halberds. But they used, at the first, some subtlety; for they went first into the Moot-hall, which is an ordinary thing, and sent to the castle for one Mayfield, being a man condemned for felony, as though the intent of their coming had appertained nothing at all unto us; and then, of a sudden, came forth of the hall and sent for us. By and by, our keepers called us all down in great haste into the castle yard, where Mr. Rokeby stayed, expecting our coming; who said that the Lord President and his council were informed that a Seminary priest was amongst us, who said Mass the same morning in our house. His name was John Fisher, and this they were assured of, for some of our own company had betrayed him; and, except he be found, they would not depart, but would pull down the house upon our heads. Wherefore searchers, being appointed to rifle our chambers and poor lodgings, fell to their work, and so continued till seven o'clock at night; and from us they went into Mr. Fletcher's house, the keeper of the castle, who lying sick in his bed, they gave him no sparing, but searched it, yea, and the very bed wherein he did lie; and what other discourtesies they offered him the writer hereof knoweth not, but he died within a few hours after, the same night. They found, in searching, the passage of the party (as they said) whom they sought for; lighting, indeed, upon an entrance, sufficient for a man to pass, towards the water; and thereupon began very hotly to rifle and break all below, in the kitchen, parlour, and other places thereabouts, supposing him to be near the outgate. They brake the ceiling over where it was, and in the new chamber above, and threatened the next day to pull down the new

building, and the little chamber which stood thereon. But they found not much the first day; but, having set their watch, one to walk up and down within the house, and many abroad without, that none should convey the priest away, the next morning, coming again, they brought with them workmen with all their tools and implements, to try, by sounding, for hollow places, and break up all; "for the traitor Seminary,' quoth they, 'you have among you, without whom we will not depart. Therefore, bring him out to us, or else we will pull down the house upon your heads.' With such like speeches [they] menaced us all the three days, and, in all the time of searching they shut us up, men, women, and children, in a little house, where one of us could scarce stand besides another. Remedy could we have none; although the young children cried and the mothers lamented their babes, small pity was showed.

"This day they carried eight of our company to the Manor, where they expected the Lord President until seven o'clock at night, at which time, Mansfield, one of the hottest searchers, coming out of the President's chamber with a writing in his hand, carried them to Mr. Rokeby's house to be examined; where four only being examined severally, they were sent all to three several prisons, until the search was ended, one of them being sent unto a place by himself, with commandment that he should be well used, who was suspected by the company to have been the author and betrayer of all. Also they took away a little girl, and threatened to beat her (being ten years old), except she would confess where John Fisher, the Seminary, was to be found; and, keeping her, they gave it out that the child had told all, and that now they could go and lay their hand upon his head where he sat. But all was false. In the meantime the searchers wrought diligently, knocking and sounding every wall and floor under their feet. They broke and beat down, without scruple, walls, ceilings, floors,

hearths of chimnies, boards, yea, they untiled the house; and, breaking down all within the chambers, they tossed and trod under their feet our clothes and bedding, the lime, plaster, dust, and dirt falling upon it, and made their common way over all, without sparing. They found great store of books and church stuff also, as chalice and cruets of silver, crosses of silver and gilt, with relics, pictures, antependiums, borders, and all other furniture belonging unto the altar, which had been sent and bestowed upon us by former prisoners and good benefactors. And now, alas! they have harried us of all; yea, many of us have not left so much as a prayer-book, or a piece or part of one; for all was fish that came to their net. Books, lawful by their own laws, they violently took away; yea, the very money, which the poor men had to live upon, they snatched away most greedily. After these gentlemen searchers, there followed hungry rascals, who licked up their leavings, sparing neither silver spoons, nor other like jewels, neither linen nor woollen, as stockings of hose, remnants of cloth, kerchiefs, coifs, patlets,[1] shirtbands, napkins, gloves, garters, combs, knives, or anything else that could be handsomely carried away: and the worst is, we have Judas amongst us, and cannot find means to exclude him out of our company.

"The next day, being St. Thomas' eve, they came again in like manner, with their workmen, yet to pull more down. And now they put no doubts but to have him; and amongst us he was (they said), 'for,' quoth they, 'on Tuesday, when we began, it is confessed by some of your fellows, that he said Mass amongst you; and ever since hath there not only been a continual watch without, but also within, amongst you: every night have we had one to foresee that you should not steal him away from us.'

[1] "*Patlet* or *partlet*, a ruff or band formerly much worn about the neck by both sexes, but more latterly it seems to have been worn exclusively by women." *Halliwell.*

So they knocked down and rifled again and again, until dinner-time, and after dinner until eight o'clock at night, in such sort as they did the days before; and that was thus:—The rooms being little, they divided themselves into many companies, and that which the first company had searched, the next that came after did the like, and so did the third, fourth, and fifth, and last of all the gleaners, as sweepstakes, who raked up without scruple all that whereof the other made some conscience. A great spite they had about chimnies, and kept much ado about them: and, climbing up to the tops of them, cast down stones, to see whether there were any false tones. They termed one chamber 'the priest's chamber,' and battered it foully, as they did the rest also. If they chanced to find any conveyance (as they did many), wherein anything was found, then he that found it would shout and cry to them in the gutter of the house above, and they then would do the like to them beneath in the yard. They used the barbarousest speeches that could be uttered against priests and Catholics: they swore also the watchmen, but especially those that belonged unto the keeper, whether they had not consented to the conveying forth of the priest. This was the course they continued, three whole days together; and what shall happen unto us yet hereafter we know not, but only commend ourselves to God, whose cause it is we have in hand, and in whose holy help we have also all our trust and confidence, and that He grant us perseverance and constancy, without the which neither getteth the champion his conquest, nor the conqueror his crown: for, take away perseverance, and no service hath any pay, nor good turn any thanks."

These were the very words of their letters for the most part. The cruelty of this search was such that, by the estimation of some, the damages of the prison itself, besides all the prey carried away, could hardly be repaired without forty pounds charges.

The President, therefore, having missed his purpose, was much disquieted in mind, and all melancholy, and, not finding which way better to satisfy his fury (although he offered money to those that could betray the man he sought for), determined with himself to disperse the prisoners of the castle into other places, where they should be kept under a more strait custody, lest they should at any time, through the negligence of their keepers, obtain or devise the means to receive comfort, by access of their pastors, as he suspected they had done before. Wherefore, not long after, he sent seventeen of the principal into Hull, whereof nine were committed unto Henry Hubbart, the keeper of the north Blockhouse, and the rest to Beesely, keeper of the Castle, which two prisons were wont to be the worst places, for extremity showed, in all this north country.

Upon Easter Tuesday following [1594] he caused another search to be made at a gentlewoman's house in Nidderdale, called Mrs. Ardington; for it had been certified him by his espials that Mr. David Ingleby (the gentlewoman's brother, and one whom the President loveth not, being a Catholic) and the Lady Anne Neville were there. Wherefore [he] sent with all speed a company of bad companions of his own household, for more trust and assurance, amongst whom by name were Pollard, gaoler of Sheriff Hutton, Outlaw, the President's pursuivant, and a gaoler also, with one Eglesfield, a traitor, of whom you shall hear more afterwards. In their way they forced a poor man out of his house to be their guide; and coming near the house they drew their swords, bent their pistols, and buckled themselves for battle, as though they would have made an assault to the gentlewoman's house; but perceiving by one of the house that there was no fear of fighting, the greatest resistance consisting only in a company of women, they put up their weapons, entered in, the door being open, searched, rifled, turned and tossed

all things upside down, but found nothing greatly for their purpose. Yet, fearing to be disappointed of their journey, they determined not to depart with speed, but seated themselves in the house, and, as though all were their own, made provision for themselves at the gentlewoman's cost until Thursday or Friday following: during which time they kept the house, they found in the house certain apparel of some gentleman, as doublets, hose, silk and Guernsey stockings. Upon them they seized by the President's warrant, whose beggary is such that he is not otherways wont to reward his trusty servants than with the spoils of such as he persecuteth. Yet the pursuivant returned home all in a chafe that he sped no better; and his wife also not well appaied[1] that his budget came so light home; for she was accustomed always to give the first welcome unto his capcase at his return home, which seldom or never before came so empty.

But I note in the meantime that although traitors be always welcome unto the President, so long as they are employed, or are thought for his purpose, yet their conditions are such that, although they seek by treacheries to win credit, yet they seldom get that they gape for, but rather contempt and hatred. For the President's men, albeit they used the industry of Eglesfield in searching, because he was forward to mischief, yet they declared well what conceit and opinion they carried of him for his treasons committed, not using him otherwise than as a stock to laugh at. Sometimes the maid of the house having dressed the chambers for her master's sake, carried forth the vessel under her apron to empty the same; therewith being perceived by some, straightways they called for Eglesfield (who was busy to see all), that nothing should be conveyed away that might serve for their purpose; thus having invited him to a prey, it was sport unto them to see him descend. The like pastime they devised in

[1] "*To appay*, from *appayer*, old French, to satisfy." *Johnson.*

drawing him with great secrecy to break open a commode, and merely mocked him when he had found what he deserved. Thus may it be verified that is spoken of old, that princes like treasons though they love not the traitors.

One Leonard Atkinson had a commission granted him, and authority to summon, search, and apprehend, or vex the Catholics in Richmondshire; the which of his own head, without further warrant, he enlarged in such sort, that for his greater gain he took upon him, under the colour thereof, not only for money to discharge and grant liberty unto those whom he apprehended, but also for bribes to seem to protect others from troubles, whom he threatened to vex unless they would condescend unto him: although he could not protect any indeed; but only sought, by deceiving them by vain proffers, to fill his purse. Whereunto it served his turn sufficiently, that none durst be so bold as to contradict him, for fear to be apprehended by virtue of his commission. Which course he used so long, until the matter being over evident, and complaint being made to the President, for shame he recalled his commission. This fellow behaved himself so diligently in the time of his office, that, by his own report, he watched nightly to espy occasions to get his prey upon some Seminary; yea, sometimes a great number of nights together: insomuch that, for a long time, there was one gentlewoman's house of good worship nigh unto him so straitly looked unto, that no stranger could come unto her, neither day nor any time upon the night, so secretly but he should be espied, and in danger to be apprehended by a search. One time he waited his opportunity so vigilantly that he took a good company of Catholics together assembled, with an old priest in their company; but the old man not being of such danger and account that the President, as he supposed, would greatly rejoice at his apprehension, or that he expected, by that present, to be rewarded greatly of his lord and master, he took a more commodious way to

reward himself, by picking twenty pounds out of the poor old man's purse, for his escape at that time, in hope at some fitter opportunity to gratify the President with a more desired prey.

Within twenty days after the great search, made at Candlemas in the year 1593, there was another commission, directed to search and take away from all Catholic men's houses all armour and other furniture and munitions for war: the which commission, although expressly it concerned nothing else but only to enquire for armour, yet, either by the presumption and interpretation of the searchers, or by some other secret instructions or warrant given them underhand, they took upon them in many places to search both for men and other things also; rifling and turning all, and examining servants, in houses where they came, to that effect. So was old Mr. John Trollope, a Catholic, taken, and forced to appear before the next commission, and others escaped very narrowly, yea, many were put in danger, because the search came at that time unexpected.[1]

The President and the false Bishops of York and Durham have certain officers, who, I think, indeed, to be no other than somners,[2] yet called commonly for their greater credit, authority, and terror of the people, by the name of pursuivants; and, for their greater gain, claiming and exacting greater fees than common somners do. These men have in their beadrolls all the names of Catholics within their circuits, and are employed continually in citing or summoning, sometimes by special writ and sometimes without writs, all Catholics to appear and present themselves to the commissioners sitting upon such matters, at times appointed. These men cannot be contented, according unto their offices, to summon, or serve their writs and process

[1] In page 114 we have given an account of one of the searches at Mr. Trollope's house, and of the narrow escape of Father Holtby on that occasion.

[2] *Somnour*, a summoner, apparitor. *Halliwell.*

to appear; but they take upon them usually, yea, now seldom otherways, like unto justices or other higher officers, to force men either to enter into bonds of a kind of recognizance to appear, or cause them to lay in some others bound or as sureties for their appearance; otherways, as though they were true pursuivants indeed, or men of greater authority, they will attach and carry away such as refuse to be bound, or commit them unto the constables or other officers to bring them in. And albeit they neither have any such authority, nor any law doth constrain men to yield unto them, yet the constables dare not disobey them, lest, the catchpolls informing against them, they breed them more trouble; and cause them to be punished as contemners of the authority they had not.

The President and others of the Commission[1] have taken a course now divers years past, which I touched before, for a more easy way to persecute those Catholic wives whose husbands are men conformable to their laws, contrary to the law of God and nature, to make the husbands tyrants to their own flesh and bones, and [compel them], for saving the catchpolls some labour, to bring in their own wives, present them to the magistrates, vex them by threats, persuasions, and otherwise, both in prison and at liberty, to procure thereby their fall. Of this number there were and are a great sort of gentlemen, of the best wealth and worship, that delivered their wives to the will of the tyrant; as Sir Henry Constable, Philip Constable, Thomas Metham, Ralph Babthorpe, Henry Cholmondeley, William Ingleby, esquires and knights' sons all; Mr. Ralph Lawson, Marmaduke Cholmondeley, Thomas Barton, Lister, Palmes, Holtby, Hungate, Vaux, Salvin, in Yorkshire; and

[1] The original Acts of the High Court of the Ecclesiastical Commission of the North have fortunately been preserved. Some extracts from them, relating to many of the names here mentioned by Father Holtby, were published in the *Month* for October, 1875. They are too long to be placed at the foot of this page; but as specimens, showing the proof that exists of Father Holtby's accuracy, they are given at the end of this narrative.

in the Bishopric of Durham, Henry Killingale, Francis Trollope, George Middleton, Charles Hedworth, Fulthrop, Whitfield, Welbery, and divers other gentlemen both in Yorkshire and the Bishopric of Durham, as also others of meaner calling. These gentlemen, finding both inconvenience both in the government of their families and education of their children, together with no little discomfort and greater damages by the want and absence of their most godly, loving, obedient, and careful wives, laboured very earnestly by continual suit unto the President and other Commissioners, to obtain their wives' liberty; but the cruel President being inexorable, nothing could be gotten, without great friends made, large cost, and impious conditions. In the meantime the wives were kept so strait and close in prison, that no access of friends, unless they were such as sought to vex and pervert their constancy, could be permitted them: yea, their own husbands were so barred from them, that, unless with much labour obtaining a warrant from the President, and that not without charges also, as oft as they did so visit them, they were constrained to buy now and then a short lodging with their best beloved in prison. Neither would they permit the Catholic women in prison to have free access or recourse one to another; but shut them up apart, into several lodgings, lest one should take comfort or encourage the other to constancy. Yea, they sent ministers to bait them with heretical arguments, that so, the body oppressed with extremities of imprisonment, and the minds continually battered with the pestilent and importunate cries of most impious seducers, and all passage stopped from them of the loving and faithful friends' succours, they should be constrained, in the end, to yield up the fortress of their faith, and be content, at the least, to accept of unequal conditions, if not to become altogether captive, and slaves to heresy. Some of their worldly husbands, either impatient of their expenses (which were great, for

the President committed many of them as prisoners into the custody of his trusty servants, as Saunderson, Pollard, and others, to make their game of them), or being men of some worship and stomach, loth to seek friendship by some base companions' means unto the President (for such bear the only sway with him, as agreeing best with his humour), or disdaining to labour for his friendship by whom they were so oft and easily rejected (for he made them wait and give attendance from time to time, scarce affording them, at any time, but with difficulty either speech or countenance), or finally, expecting no favour in their behalf, their requests being so oft denied or deferred, began to be so unkind in the end unto their loving spouses, that their marital affection was turned into hatred. Others complained [of] their families' misery at home, and accused the hard hearts of their wives, who, for the love of God's honour and safety of their souls, would put their husbands to such loss and extremity: others exclaimed against Catholic priests, who, seeing both wives and husbands in misery, the one by disgrace in the world, the other by restraint of liberty, would not dispense with the one to commit now and then a sin, that both might live in earthly prosperity; others would neither vouchsafe to visit their wives, nor yet to make them any allowance in prison; and the rest, remaining discontented, to their great hindrance temporal, as they were able, discharged their expenses, especially for those at Sheriff Hutton with Pollard, who, besides the charge of their diet (which they made of their own provision), and other extraordinaries (the gaoler also claiming weekly, besides his table amongst them, ten shillings of every one for his attendance, as he called it), were most costly to their husbands, and commodious to many their persecutors.

The gentlemen [in Yorkshire *interlined*] ceased not to make means for their wives' enlargement, not only by entreaty at the President's hands themselves, but also pro-

curing divers letters from great lords and ladies above unto him; yea, several letters and warrants from some of the Privy Council, whereunto sometime six of their hands were subscribed at once for their delivery. But the President, taking it in evil part that the gentlemen should go about to get their wives' liberty by any others' means than his own who had committed them, was the further off from showing them favour; but, feeding them up with fair words, pretended causes of delay, informing the Privy Council, meanwhile, how unmeet it was they should go home, being aiders, relievers, maintainers, or furtherers of traitors and Seminaries; yea, perceiving that some of them, waxing weary with hard imprisonment, began to slack in constancy, that he was in great hope and certain expectation, by extremity, to make them conformable. With these and such like informations he deluded the gentlemen's labour; although some were of opinion, that all was but a policy between the old Treasurer with others of the Privy Council, that the Lord President should, by these means, vex, impoverish, weaken, break, and keep down the hearts of these gentlemen, having no other cause to molest them, save only by picking a quarrel at them for their wives: because they carry such a jealous conceit of them, that, although, for fear of laws and danger of the time, they yield themselves in show conformable, yet they suspect them rather to be dissembling schismatics than formal heretics, and secret favourites of their wives' religion, though openly they take part with their persecutors; and, therefore, hate them no less than professed Catholics, as back friends or adversaries unto their impious State and Government, if [opportunity] and fit occasion should at any time be offered them, to declare their inward mind and contrary affection. Howsoever it was, the gentlemen all (except Sir Henry Constable, who, upon a warrant from the Council, got his lady first removed into the south as a prisoner, and after, upon bond to appear at the Privy

Council's call, home to his own house in the north) were in fine compelled to leave off all other means, and wholly to seek favour at the President's hands; many of them obtaining that way more grace, through the suit and request of some catchpoll or bribing factor for the President; and other factious companions, whose voice and friendship it is supposed they bought for money, than could be obtained, either by suit of most honourable personages, or warrant from a great sort of the Privy Council. Wherefore, now at last their liberty was granted, but yet with such bonds, cautions, and conditions, that, if they had been men of either conscience or good religion, they would rather have lost all and taken part with their wives in the like restraint of liberty by imprisonment, than any way to have accepted the same, seeing that, by our Saviour's own sentence, the gain of a world is worth nothing, if it bring but the loss of one soul. And such were the conditions of their recognizance accepted, that no priest, or Jesuit, or known Catholic should come in their wives' company, or at their house; that they should have heretical ministers to come and confer with them; that they should have heretical service or common prayers thrice a week in their house; that they should receive the communion of Calvin's institution at times appointed. These and such like conditions, either all or most of them, were they all bound unto, under pain of forfeit of such ample sums of money, that worldly-affected minds, whose wealth is their chief felicity, would easily hazard soul and all by committing what sin soever to avoid so great a penalty.

All Catholics, being apprehended and brought before the President and others of the Commission, are first urged to take their oath to answer truly unto all that shall be demanded upon them; but Catholics being instructed by experience that they shall be questioned of many matters, not only prejudicial unto themselves

and others, but also prejudicial in such points as no law or equity can exact at their hands, and fearing that either through scruple of breaking their oath, or peril of supposed perjury if by other means their answers could be disproved, to be drawn to confess more against themselves than were expedient to be uttered (for the persecutors would bear them in hand, that not only by justice they may exact such an oath upon them, but also that, by virtue of that oath, they are bound to answer directly unto all demands indifferently, without regard to prejudice, equity, or other bond of duty), they use now ordinarily to refuse such oaths, as the best way to avoid both scruple in conscience and other danger. And that you may know in what points they be examined, I will here set down the examination of one in particular, that so you may conjecture of the rest.

In the year 1590, three young gentlemen being to pass into France, and expecting the commodity of wind, were apprehended at Shields, in the Bishopric, by D. Pilkington, the 27th of February. One of them (Oliver Cottam) at two several examinations, first by Toby Matthews, Dean of Durham, and after at York by Topcliffe and others, was urged first to a general oath, to answer to all whatsoever should be demanded; but that being denied, they asked him, 1° If he were a priest, or within Orders: 2° What priests he knew: 3° In whose houses he had seen or heard Mass: 4° If he would take the oath of the Queen's supremacy: 5° If he took the Queen for lawful prince, all excommunication notwithstanding: 6° If he knew any priests that were dispensed withal to deny their function (demanded upon their oath or before authority), for the working of private practices: 7° If he knew any that did make priests in England: 8° If he ever did see any catalogue or calendar of the Catholics in

England, with the persecutors of the said Catholics, and what they were by name: 9° If he would go to the church with them. And at York, the 20th of May following, 1° If he knew George Beesley,[1] a priest, urging him to swear he knew him not: 2° But, seeing he would not swear, they demanded him, as he was a Catholic, to say truly whether he would take the Queen's part or the Pope's, if he should invade to establish religion: 3° What places he had been at in Lancashire with Robert Ashton:[2] 4° Where he was acquainted with Robert Musgrave,—which [last] two were taken with him, and examined in the like articles. Which points of examination are, for the most part, set down by instructions given unto the Commissioners, for proceeding orderly according unto the proclamation, and ordinarily ever since are proposed unto all recusants at their several examinations. And here I cannot omit in what sort the Dean of Durham did proceed with a single Catholic brought before him at a Commission: for he, being chief Commissioner in place, offered the poor Catholic man to take his oath, to answer directly and truly unto all questions that should be proposed unto him. The Catholic refused, saying, he would swear unto nothing: wherefore the Dean, thinking to circumvent the simplicity of the man by a subtlety, asked him if he knew the coat upon his back to be his own. Whereunto he answered he knew it to be his own; whereupon the Dean offered him the book and bade him swear. The poor man, fearing that if he should not swear he might be thought to have stolen the coat, took his oath that the coat was his own. "Well," said the Dean, "Now, by the oath that thou hast taken,

[1] George Beesley was martyred for his priesthood in Fleet Street with Monford Scott, July 2, 1591.

[2] Robert Ashton, gentleman, born at Croston in Lancashire, was executed at Tyburn, June 23, 1592, for procuring a dispensation from Rome to marry his second cousin.

when didst thou hear a Mass? What priest dost thou know?" &c., essaying by this sleight to draw him to confess some matter thereby to bring himself and others into danger, as though he had sworn to that effect.

In their examinations, as they see the nature and disposition of those that are brought before them, they use sometimes to terrify them with threats and opprobrious words, as by threatening to hang them, and by calling them notorious traitors, rebels, and enemies unto the Queen; sometimes to flatter them with fair words and promises to undermine them; sometimes by false accusations and slanders laid to their charge, to discredit them before others; sometimes by mocks and flouting taunts to discountenance them and disgrace their cause; and sometimes, by framing some objections or reasons against their faith, either to seduce them, or to make the hearers contemn them, if they find their answers insufficient. But the end of all their examinations is this; to bring them or others within the danger of some statute, that so, for fear and terror of the law, if they chance to entrap them, they may induce them to yield and relent in their faith, or else to despatch them. To which purpose, one examination sufficeth them not; but they examine them often, and by several Commissioners, that they may find at least some contradiction in their answers, and if this will not yet serve, then they charge them with the confession of some false brother, as with the confession of Major, Hardesty, Clark, and others; and that, accompanied with certain tokens and certainties, and with such specialities, to make the matter more probable and evident, that, in the end, they force them to acknowledge the matters they are charged withal, which otherways they cannot avouch sufficiently, but by their own confession. And if they yet refuse to confess the matter, then they draw them on, by promise of liberty or other favour,

awarranting them withal that they shall sustain no harm, but the more favour, for confessing the same. If this will not yet serve, then they cause them to be the straiter kept, and to press them into it by extremity; in the meantime suborning some by flattery to persuade them to yield unto his lordship. Then they tire them with continual access of preachers, or else send and remit them to the custody of some notorious heretics, who by continual arguments and other assaults, labour seriously, and watch all occasions most vigilantly, to overthrow them. By this means, was Mr. Blenkinsopp, Mr. Warde, Mr. Trollope, Mrs. Cholmondeley, and others more, after long imprisonment, overthrown. When they have gotten any to confess against himself, then they use him at their pleasure; for, if he stand fast in his faith, then will they use all extremity against him; and, all promised favour quite forgotten, they will proceed to his arraignment and execution. But if he fall (which is more frequent), then they deal with him in such sort that first, his scandal shall be made notorious (although they promise great secrecy); for they urge him to make his public submission and abjuration; then they make him lay in bond, or other assurance, or at the least his promise, not only to continue and go forward in his damnable renunciation, yea, to hurt his neighbours also, wherein he can; as to take priests, &c. Of all which points I could give particular instances, if it were needful.

And in this manner and by these degrees they do not only bring many into the pit of their perdition, but they also stop all the ways and means possible of their recovery and deprive them of all hope ever to return to God again: and that which is the greatest misery of all, although they have done them the greatest displeasure in the world, as bereaved them of God's grace and heaven's interest, yet must they, and do they, many of them deceived, account

them as principal friends and loving benefactors, that with the loss of their souls they have saved their lives and livings, the which were no otherwise brought in danger of law, than by their own confession at their' foes subtle and malicious procurement, and yield them withal most hearty thanks, with promise of all dutiful service, that having broken their heads and wounded them so deeply, yet have vouchsafed them a plaster in effect to kill them; of which kind of proceeding and friendship showed unto those that fall, those whom I last named, with many others, may be a sufficient witness; but for rigour showed unto those that either stand fast or refuse to confess such matters as they are charged withal, the examples that follow will easily declare; together with the unjust manner of all their proceedings.

Mr. Joseph Constable, a Catholic man, had a man that served him called Scarcroft, who, after that he had lived with his master, as it seemed in Catholic manner, and long trusted in his affairs, fell from faith, and that so far that he became a traitor to his master and others, where he had been trusted. This fellow having told unto the President divers matters of peril concerning his master, was [the] occasion that his master was sent for unto the President, and examined of sundry articles, and being urged therewith, and standing upon his trial, and denying that [which] he was charged withal, the President to make him confess the same, had placed this honest man Scarcroft behind a hanging, who at every denial of his master spake with an audible voice from behind the cloth, and said, "I will avouch it." The gentleman, amazed at the voice, could not tell what to think: but upon commandment not to depart the town, was dismissed until afternoon on the next day; but in the meantime, fearing the President's displeasure, conveyed himself away without licence. But the President being grieved at his escape, pursued the matter against him to the uttermost; and upon this bad

fellow's information, indicted him of felony for harbouring of Seminaries.

In the like manner did he proceed against John Carr the postmaster of Newcastle, who being sent for by the President, and committed to ward in York, before any matter was laid unto his charge, and after he had continued in prison a good space without examination to his cost, was in the end accused of aiding and relieving of Mr. Boast[1] the Seminary, but he standing upon his trial (although he were otherways conformable to the laws) was indicted, convicted, arraigned, and condemned at this Lammas Assize last past, having no other witness brought forth against him but this same Scarcroft for one, and the confession of one Snawdon who had been condemned and executed at Lent Assize before for committing of a most cruel and notorious murder upon a special friend and benefactor of his own, dwelling in Berwick, and the confession of Francis Eglesfield, who then also was not in place to give evidence against him; which proof and evidence seemed not sufficient unto the jury to find him guilty withal, for the first did not avouch that John Carr did know him to [be] a priest, but he said only that there was one John Constable about three years ago that being in Newcastle with Joseph Constable, did continue all the day with my La[dy] Gray, and at night was lodged at John Carr's house. Which John Constable was indeed John Boast, though he could not depose that he was known by another name unto John Carr, than by the name of Constable. And as for the other evidence, it was no other ways given than by a writing from the said Eglesfield, who was not there to show his face, the which writing was accepted of the jury for good evidence upon the President's word, who affirmed it to be his, and withal that he thought in his conscience that it was a true [testimony], the judge affirming the same to be

[1] John Bost suffered at Durham, July 24, 1594.

sufficient: whereby it may appear that this evidence was rather to be attributed unto the judge than unto any other witness; whereas neither law nor reason will admit him to be a judge of a man's action, especially in a matter of life and death, who, as a witness, avoucheth the crime for which the guilty is condemned. The condemned therefore, perceiving that upon this insufficient proof he was in danger of condemnation, as it fell out indeed, did protest by oath that it was a false indictment, thinking thereby to save himself, and perhaps persuading himself he might swear truly to his own intent, where he saw the judges did not observe the order of law in proceeding towards his condemnation, but the President on the one side to discredit the man's oath, and on the other to excuse and justify his indirect dealing by the man's own confession, willed him being already condemned, to acknowledge and confess the fact, and he would do him what pleasure he could to save his life. Wherefore, seeing no other means to avoid his death, [he] was content to confess the matter, and so was reprieved for the time in expectation of his pardon.

Two examples I remember happened in the year of our Lord 1591, which two, although they are something without my compass of two or three years, and I have in some former letters signified something concerning the same; yet because to my remembrance I have not written any specialties before, and the matter is necessary to the publishing and recording of a thing of such importance, I thought good at this present to advertise you of the same.

In the year above-named it happened that one Robert Thorpe,[1] a Seminary priest, went to visit an old man's house, called Thomas Watkinson, there to administer

[1] Robert Thorpe suffered for his priesthood, and Thomas Watkinson for harbouring priests, May 31, 1591, at York. For Lady Babthorpe's account of them, see *Troubles*, First Series, p. 240.

sacraments unto him and his Catholic family, and being espied and suspected to be the man he was indeed, was dogged unto his lodging, and straightway intelligence was given unto a justice of peace called Mr. Gates, who, with all speed (as he was forward enough for such a prey) came with men appointed towards the place, and entering the house unawares, took the foresaid priest with the old man, and carried them as traitors unto York to be further examined; at which time the Lord Darcie being Vice-President, Topcliffe also was there present, who, together with Meares, Purfrey, and Rokeby, of the Council at York, examined them. They examined Father Thorpe first of his going beyond the seas, by whom he was sent, to whom he was directed, where he arrived, and how long he continued at Rheims, by whom he was made priest, and what viaticum he had from thence? To all which demands he answered directly as the things were. Then they asked him, What if the Pope should set on the realm for establishing the Papistical religion, the which you call (say they) the Catholic, whose part would you take? He answered, the Pope's, though not by way of fight, but by his beads, for whose good success in such affairs he said that he daily prayed. Then they demanded whether he had not in charge to withdraw the Queen's subjects from their allegiance towards their sovereign. And he answered, No. They asked where he had exercised his priestly function in ministering sacraments, &c. He answered flatly he would not tell them. They asked whether if he had authority from the Pope to kill the Queen, whether he would exercise it or no. And he answered that he would not. Afterwards at his arraignment in what sort they proceeded with him, his own letter, directed unto a friend of his, shall declare, which was in this form as followeth:

"With my hearty commendations, &c. These are to certify you that I have *divina gratia* overcome all the

temptations against those great bulls of Basan. When I was examined before Meares, Purfrey, Rokeby, and Topcliffe, upon certain questions, I answered both with the Holy Scriptures and holy Doctors unto my simple knowledge. But they replied again, 'Thy coming from beyond the seas is treason; we trouble thee not for religion but for treason:' insomuch that Meares in flattering manner said, 'Thou art a simple man, be a good subject and go to the Church and hear a sermon and use what religion thou wilt, and thou shalt be free from all calamities, troubles, and torment.' 'Lo,' said I, 'then, this is great treason, if I would do as you do, and condemn my silly soul, all should be well.' After my arraignment, being found guilty, they asked me what I would say for myself that I should not be condemned for treason? I answered, 'I am a Catholic priest, and sent by authority of the Catholic Church to persuade the people from their sins and wickedness, and to serve God, and to do the office of a priest,' alleging the words of our Saviour, *Sicut me misit Pater, Ego mitto vos*:[1] and withal, I said I came not to be judged of you for a traitor, but to judge over you, as you are bound; alleging again, *Mementote præpositorum vestrorum*, &c., and *iterum*, *Obedite præpositis vestris*, &c.[2] 'Treason,' say they. 'Thou must obey the Queen.' I said, *Quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari; quæ sunt Dei Deo.*[3] 'For we must obey God and the Church first, and then the Queen in all temporal causes, but not in ecclesiastical causes.' They then interrupted me, saying, 'That is treason.' I then answering again, said, 'You promised me, if I would go to the church and hear a sermon, &c., that I should be free.' But they denied it. I said, 'Mr. Meares did persuade me. Lo, good people,'

[1] "As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you." St. John xx. 21.

[2] "Remember your prelates who have spoken the word of God to you." "Obey your prelates and be subject to them." Heb. xiii. 7, 17.

[3] "To Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." St. Matt. xxii. 21.

said I, 'this is great treason,' *ut supra*, with a loud voice, for by means of their great clamour I could not be heard. And thus with many opprobrious speeches (as afore) they railed upon me. Thus taking my leave, I cease to trouble you any longer. I give you adieu, and my last farewell in this life, until we shall meet all (*dante Deo*) in the celestial and joyful place, where everlasting joy and comfort be."

Being therefore condemned and to be executed (the 31st of May being Monday next after Trinity Sunday), Topcliffe at the execution was so moved with rage at the good man's words, whereby he exhorted men to become Catholic, and to beware of such tyrants as he was, that he bid the executioner despatch his office, or else he himself would come and do it. So was his body martyred, as the custom is, among his foes on earth, and his soul being accepted of God, crowned with glory amongst his friends in heaven for his good confession.

The good old man in whose house he was taken after his examination and imprisonment, was arraigned at the same gaol delivery; wherefore they proceeded against him for entertaining a Seminary, the which he knew to be such an one; but the man said he never confessed so much, neither did the Bench and counsel urge him now whether he knew him to be such a person or not, but proceeded against him as though he had confessed the matter plainly at his first examination, and he said to them openly that he was never examined of that point. Then was the clerk sent for to the Bench that wrote his examination, and sworn whether that were a true examination or no; in which was set down that Father Watkinson had confessed that he knew Father Thorpe to be a Seminary priest, and the ungracious clerk swore that it was true, though the old man denied it; but according unto this examination they condemned him. After verdict given, Meares sent his man unto him to wish him to demand at the Bench's hands

some time to consider of his state, and to have his life prolonged, at the least, until Lammas; but the good man thought it not good for him to seem doubtful of his estate, fearing they would have made the world believe he had given some signs of revolting from his faith (which was indeed the thing they earnestly and only sought, as manifestly appeared), but he was content simply to ask his life; but that would not serve his turn, without some show of doubt in his religion, wherefore he quietly suffered them to proceed as they would and as they had determined, choosing rather to die gloriously than to live in ignominy. A subtle and malicious minister was sent unto him a little before he was to go towards the place of execution, to persuade him to some conformity, and to acknowledge that he was condemned for treason, and ask the Queen's forgiveness, &c., and crying upon him to do something. But the poor old man cried out aloud, "Away from me! get you hence; I will not pray with you; I will have nothing to do with you;" with such-like pitiful outcries: for he could not otherwise be rid of the minister but by crying; the keeper had clapt them so together that he could not depart from him. In the end, when they see they could have no advantage of him, nor colour of relenting in religion to the show of the saving or prolonging his life, they sent him forward with the rest to be executed; but at the very place of execution Topcliffe offered him his life and lands if he would become a good subject and go to the church, but he cheerfully refused, choosing rather to be a king in heaven than to live a miserable subject and bond-slave to sin in the world, and so embraced his crown prepared.

This present year, being the year of our Lord 1594,[1]

[1] Father Holtby here uses New Style. Bishop Challoner says, "In the beginning of this year 1594, or according to the English account [*i.e.* reckoning], in the latter end of 1593, viz., on the 4th of February, John Speed, layman, was executed at Durham."

and the last day of January, there was a gaol delivery holden at Durham, where the Lord President, Tobie Matthew, Dean of Durham, Mr. Purfrey, one of the Council at York, Calverley, Chancellor of that Court, Hilliard, Buskall, as assistants, with other Justices of Peace, being assembled together. First, a sermon was made by the Dean in the abbey church before them, wherein small other matter of doctrine was declared, besides a long amplification of the commandments of the President, in respect of his rare labour and diligence to establish their new gospel and supplant those of a contrary religion, which being ended they departed, and being placed in their sessions house, their commission read, the justices, coroners, and bailiffs called, and the grand inquest impanelled, as the manner is, Mr. Purfrey prepared to give the charge, wherein, after some other speeches, he fell into a bitter invective against the Pope and challenge of jurisdiction spiritual in this realm; and, like a preacher alleging divers frivolous arguments and authorities to prove the sovereign authority of their Church to rest in the Prince and temporal magistrate, excluding all Popes as impious usurpers of the same, of which number notwithstanding, he said, it could not be denied but that thirty-two or thirty-three were holy men, sound in religion, and died very good martyrs. He much commended the merciful clemency of her Majesty's reign, comparing it with Queen Mary's days, affirming without shame that now there is no cruelty showed to any for religion, which, how true it is, we Catholics in all parts of the realm are able to declare. After which speeches, to show how little truth there was in his tale, presently he gave charge to the inquest to inquire, and present all Jesuits, Seminary priests, and such other (as he termed them) runagates from Rome, and of their messages, tokens, and badges from Rome (meaning, as it should seem, their faculties, *Agnus Deis*, grains, &c.), amplifying much of them and their wickedness he falsely

imputed to them, to bring them in disgrace and hatred of the hearers.

The first day they sat upon felons and burglars, amongst whom was arraigned and found guilty one Thomas Wilkinson, a minister, for stealing of horses, and after condemned and executed for the same. But the next day, being Candlemas eve, being set again about nine of the clock, the Lady Margaret Neville was brought to the bar to be arraigned, not on the outside amongst the other prisoners, but within the bar, where, making a low curtsey unto the President, he and the rest of the Bench vailed their bonnets again, and, as some say, the President let fall a few tears when he saw her. Being there placed, she was commanded to lay off her hat, to put off her gloves, and to hold up her hand, which done, the Clerk of the Assizes reading the indictment, said unto her: "Margaret Neville, hold up thy hand. Thou standest here indicted by the name of Margaret Neville, late of Brancepithe, in the county of Durham, spinster, daughter of Charles, late Earl of Westmoreland, of high treason attainted: That whereas one John Boast, late of Duffeton, in the county of [Westmoreland], clerk, an Englishman born, had about thirteen years ago departed from the University of Oxford unto Rheims, beyond the seas, and there was by the authority of the Bishop of Rome made a Seminary priest, and after that, contrary to the laws of this realm (Eliz. 27°), came into England and arrived at Hartlepool, in the said county of Durham, and from thence (not making himself known to her Majesty's justices and other officers, as by statute in that case is provided) travelled into the south parts of England, and then after some while returned into the north, viz., unto Waterhouse in the said county of Durham, where thou, the said Margaret Neville, him did[st] feloniously receive, aid, and relieve, contrary to her Majesty's laws, crown, and dignity. How sayest thou, Margaret Neville: art thou of this felony, whereof thou

hast been indicted and art now arraigned, guilty, or not guilty?" Here the lady paused, as neither experienced nor instructed what to answer in such a case; whereupon the Court called upon her to plead guilty, or not guilty; and after another pause, and the Court urging her to say guilty, or not guilty, she said: "I am ignorant of the law, and would be loth by mine answer to prejudice myself." Then said Tobie Matthew, "Madam, in my opinion you were best to submit yourself to the Queen's mercy; confess your offence, crave pardon, and be sorry for your defaults; for if you plead guilty you lay hold of her Majesty's mercy, but if you plead not guilty you oppose yourself to the rigour of the laws." "Madam," quoth the President, "if you were my sister I would advise you to take this course." The Lady Margaret moved herewith, and much urged thereunto by certain gentlemen that stood next unto her, she kneeled down and pleaded guilty. "Then," quoth the clerk, "the Lord have mercy upon thee." Then she craved her Majesty's mercy, desiring his lo[rdship], whom she had always found to be her honourable good lord, to be a means for her in that distress, saying that she never knew of that priest before he came, nor sent for him at any time. Then were read certain her own and others' confessions, wherein appeared she had twice heard Mass of him; in which confessions it also appeared that the La[dy] Gray,[1] her sister, was bewrayed a fautor in that behalf; but so much of those confessions as touched the Lady Ca[therine] Gray, the President made show that he was unwilling it should be read openly, but caused Mr. Purfrey (who was come from the Bench amongst the clerks to be the Queen's Attorney to urge and give

[1] Charles Neville, sixth Earl of Westmoreland, left four children by his wife, Lady Jane Howard, daughter of Henry, Earl of Surrey: Catherine married Sir Thomas Gray of Chillingham; Elizabeth died unmarried; Margaret married Sir Nicholas Pudsey; and Anne married to David Ingleby of Ripley, Esquire. *Supra*, p. 164.

evidence) to omit the same, his lo[rdship] turning to him the papers and directing him where to read and not to read; all which confessions the Lady Margaret could not deny, but called for her Majesty's mercy, &c.; though much more happy and assured had her estate been if, not regarding the breach of most unjust and impious laws, she had confidently submitted herself unto God's mercy, who could and would have delivered her from that present danger if His eternal wisdom had thought it expedient, or else have granted her grace and fortitude to have endured a short affliction and temporal contempt in so glorious a cause, for the gain of most honourable crown and everlasting triumph. After this she was withdrawn from the bar into a corner of the Court, where there was a green chair prepared for her to sit upon.

Grace Clapton. Then was Grace Clapton[1] of Waterhouse, the wife unto William Clapton, who of long time had been holden in prison for his faith, called to the bar, arraigned and found guilty for harbouring, and hearing Mass of the said John Boast, in the presence of Francis Eglesfield, a traitor and dissembled Catholic, who had bewrayed them all. To whom the President said: "Mrs. Clapton, I could tell you of two priests more, that have both said Mass at your house, who I dare assure you" (quoth he) "do now as much detest the Mass as ever they embraced it before, and will preach as much against it. Such" (quoth he) "is the mercy of the Lord, when it pleaseth Him to open the eyes and hearts of His elect; although they are yet very blunt preachers, but they will say and speak as earnestly as ever I heard." This commendation did he give upon those castaway and apostate priests, William Hardesty and Anthony Major, or Thomas Bell, which

[1] Dr. Challoner writes the name "Claxton," and in this spelling he is followed by Canon Tierney. Father Holtby has plainly written "Clapton." William Clapton probably belonged to the same family as his namesake of Sledeswick, co. Durham, and the Claptons or Cloptons of Clopton, co. Warwick. See *Troubles*, First Series, pp. 259, 320.

three had bewrayed all they knew of Catholic people where they had been received.

After her was John Spede, a young man of twenty-two years old or thereabouts, indicted and arraigned for conveying of one called Metcalfe, a priest, from place to place, against whom there was not much to be proved, until at the last a letter was avouched which he caused William Ogle, his fellow-prisoner in York, to write in his name to one Miles White of Durham, therein requesting him to deal presently with one Brass and his wife, in any case not to confess the bringing of any such person unto his house, for if that could be concealed he thought himself sure of all other matter they could lay unto his charge. The said letter was intercepted, as they said, by one Snawdon, a prisoner condemned and executed for a most detestable murder, and by him, then prisoner in York, bewrayed unto the President; which notwithstanding, the said Spede pleaded not guilty, there was brought in the confession of Brass, and one Taylor, who affirmed that he brought one Metcalfe unto their houses, but they did not know him to be a priest. Which confession, and presumption conceived by the letter aforesaid, together with an ample explanation of the word "aiding," made by Hilliard the lawyer, secured unto the jury good evidence against the prisoner Spede; wherefore they pronounced him guilty.

After him was then called unto the bar, Thomas Mr. Trollope. Trollope, and arraigned for conveying a priest called Bernard Pattyson; which Trollope for the same matter had been before, four or five years past, arraigned, and the benefit of a pardon granted in the Parliament, *anno* 29°, allowed him, soon after the supposed offence was committed. A strange case for a man to be arraigned twice for one offence, and that being pardoned before, at which time he had been also set at liberty; but that being a Catholic he refused to go to the church with heretics,

for which cause he was again committed to prison, and there remained until now. Wherefore, being desirous that he should put himself unto the second trial, they told him that the pardon would do him no pleasure unless he would go unto the church. He answered that if that were the matter he would willingly spend his blood in the cause, rather than he would come there. Wherefore, seeing they could not justly deprive him the benefit of the pardon, they urged him no further. All things, therefore, having proceeded unto the giving of judgment, Mr. Purfrey, who before had accused as the Queen's Attorney, now sitting upon the Bench, and holding in his hands a paper delivered unto him by the clerk of the court, containing the names of nine prisoners convicted by verdict and their own confessions, willed them to hearken unto their judgments, and after a few words pronounced the sentence in this manner: "You nine prisoners last named shall all (my lord respiting my Lady Margaret and Trollope,) go from hence to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, where you shall be hanged by the necks until you be dead, and so God have mercy of your souls." The judgment to this effect given, the prisoners were conveyed again unto the gaol, and amongst them the Lady Margaret, who before that time since her apprehension had been prisoner in Brancepithe Castle, a house of her father's, and where herself was born, and after that some short while with one Swift, a minister, in safe custody, but since her arraignment was committed unto Robert Robson, the under-sheriff, where she was used very basely, not allowed so much as a maid to wait upon her, and her diet and other entertainment, as they say, very slender; where she remained until Lammas Assize, after which time she was committed unto the custody of Matthew Hutton, supposed Bishop of Durham, who, by flattering words, fair promises, and deceitful persuasions, hath

seduced her in the end from God's Church into the participation of heresies, she yet remaining at Auckland with him under safe custody.[1] Upon that sentence given, there grew a question amongst the hearers, whether the Lady Margaret amongst the rest had her judgment of death or no, for some thought that the word "respiting" did only exempt her from execution, but not from the sentence of death; others thought that she was excepted from both, and especially because Trollope was excepted with her, who could not be judged, seeing he challenged a former pardon; but it is credibly reported that Mr. Purfrey, hearing of it, did afterwards expound his meaning, and took it in evil part that any should so mistake his words as to except any of the named prisoners from judgment.

These matters being ended, the grand jury presented many recusants (or Catholics refusing to participate with heretics), as indicted, to the number of eighty and upwards, who all by name were called, and proclamation was made that they should enter their bodies to the sheriff before the next assizes, or else to forfeit all their lands and goods. The court being adjourned and the juries discharged, execution was expected, from the which the Lady Mar-

[1] Burke, in his *Vicissitudes of Families*, gives a letter from Hutton, Bishop of Durham, to Lord Burghley, dated 1594, suing for the Lady Margaret's pardon, wherein he says: "I sent up in the beginning of the term to sue for the pardon of the Lady Margaret Neville, taken in company with Boast, the Seminary priest. She lamented with tears that she had offended God and her Sovereign. She is wholly reclaimed from popery. Dr. Aubrey hath had her pardon since the beginning of term. If it come not quickly, I fear she will die with sorrow. It were very honourable for your good lordship to take the case of a most distressed maiden descended, as your lordship knoweth, of great nobility, the house of Norfolk, the house of Westmoreland, and the house of Rutland, in memory of man, and was but a child of five years old when her unfortunate father did enter the rebellion; and now she is a condemned person, having not one penny a year to live upon since the death of her mother, who gave her 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, part of that 300*l.* which her Majesty did allow her. It were well that her Majesty were informed of her miserable state: she is virtuously given, humble, modest, and of very good behaviour."

garet was respited, with Thomas Trollope and Grace Clapton, upon great suit and much difficulties; the President answering that he might not do it, for he was directed to do execution; she craving the benefit of her venter, and viewed by six matrons, who thought she was with child, her reprieve was granted, according unto the law, for twenty weeks. Amongst other that made suit for her unto the President, Francis Eglesfield, who had betrayed her and brought her into that extremity, thrust in himself for one, being supposed a man of sufficient credit with his lord to obtain such a matter for his good service done, but he prevailed not; yet he thought by that means to win the gentlewoman's and her friends' favour again in offering by word to entreat for her, whom by deed he had brought to her perdition; for the gentlewoman being now reprieved, her carnal friends set upon her, being a carnal woman, and over excessively affected to her life and children, in hope of getting her prince's pardon, persuaded her to fall from God, whose eternal sentence of judgment she incurred for the same. But amongst others, Sankey the gaoler did tempt her most perniciously, who perceiving her violent and most passionate desire towards her children, whereof two had continued with her by her own procurement in prison, neither could be drawn from her, her eye and heart always set upon them, to increase her temptation did always thrust them in to her when she was kept close prisoner, and would not suffer them to depart, but objected their tender estate unto her, lamenting their case before her, and accusing her of a cruel heart to forsake them. With these and such like persuasions, he and other earthly friends of her own made her renounce her Heavenly Father and everlasting crown, the which within a few hours she might have obtained, if she had remained constant.

And only John Spede was executed for the cause, amongst the other felons, being otherways a very simple

and ignorant man, and who for safety of his life, and danger of others, as he supposed, had been before content to yield and go to the heretics' church; yet in the end, to satisfy for his former offence, was executed for the same cause. How he behaved himself towards his execution,[1] the ministers setting upon him to bereave his soul as they pursued his life, divers men do report the same in divers sorts; for some affirm that he prayed sometimes with his ministers, and other times, not regarding them, said his own private prayers to himself; others affirm that he refused to pray with them; but this is certain, that at his coming forth of the prison towards execution, he went with a glad and cheerful countenance and behaviour, and gave money unto the Catholics that were in the Low prison, requesting them to pray for him, whereby it appeared that he rejoiced in the cause he was condemned for, and was desirous to die in the unity of that fellowship unto whose devout prayers he commended himself so freely, although his simplicity were such that he knew not in more evident and express manner how to make a public profession of the same at his execution; which ignorance might also be some excuse unto him if simply in some private prayer he seemed unadvisedly to pray with them whose profession or heresy he abhorred, and then either regarded or discerned not.

This was the manner of their proceeding at that gaol delivery, the which I have here set down in particular, because I have heard that the President, since being at the court, seemed to deny his proceeding against the Lady Margaret; whereby also you may see what simple proof is holden for good against a Catholic, what witnesses admitted, what law objected, what rigour used, and what hope of lenity or justice is to be looked for in that court

[1] Challoner says, without mentioning his authority: "He died with constancy, despising the proffers that were made him to bring him to conform." Vol. i. p. 308.

and before those magistrates, where the will of the judge is the warrant of the jury, where the accuser of the crime must give sentence of judgment upon the so accused, and the opinion of one absent witness, or reported testimony, is sufficient evidence to convict and indict a man of felony. In like manner at the Lent assizes following, holden at York, did the President indict Peter Knareborrow, Peter Walworth, John Hodgson, and Ralph Grimstone, for harbouring and receiving of Seminaries. The jury having no other evidence to give any verdict upon save only the President's own testimony, who, to satisfy the jury's conscience withal, said that Hardesty the apostate had confessed he had been at some of their houses, and he would take it upon his honour that it was true, and as some say, brought him unto them to avouch the same before them.

This same year, 1594, in the month of July, at the assizes holden at Durham, being the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th day of the said month, were arraigned, condemned, and after executed, for matters of religion, Mr. John Boast, Mr. John Ingram, priests, and George Swallowell, a minister, who at his arraignment made profession of the Catholic faith, and died in the confession of the same. But first, before I set down the manner of their arraignment, I think it not amiss to signify something of their apprehension, and other proceedings with them during their imprisonment.

The Lord President had of long time suborned and hired one Francis Eglesfield to find some opportunity to betray Mr. Boast. This fellow, being otherwise of infamous life, made no doubt to take the matter in hand, and the better to bring his purpose about, dissembled himself a Catholic, thereby more easily to intrude himself into the company of him whom he meant to betray; and understanding that Mr. Boast used sometimes to visit the house of William Clapton, who of long time had been in durance

for his conscience, and his wife and children Catholic, remaining at his house called Waterhouse, where also sojourned for the time the Lady Margaret Neville, though a mean place for a woman of her calling, being a straw-thatched house, and containing scarce an honest lodging for one of mean estate: yet such was her good hap, if she had had the grace to have continued to endure contempt and a kind of banishment for Christ, now being forsaken of her honourable friends. Eglesfield perceiving this to be a fit place for compassing of his enterprise, did insinuate himself into the friendship of the poor gentleman and his wife, and making a commodity of their poverty, did by loan of money and other courtesies so bind and blind their well meaning, that he deserved thereby both their trust and good report; and, although he might at several times have betrayed divers others, both priests and lay folks, in the same place as it is reported; yet because he could not have the man he looked for, others escaped the mischief meanwhile, lest, being descried, he should have missed the mark he shot at principally. Wherefore the 10th of September, *anno* 1593, having intelligence that Mr. Boast was at the place desired, the President at that time also being in the Bishopric of Durham, and expecting such a matter, a commission was given to certain men appointed, among whom was one Mr. Ralph Bowes, Ewbanck a minister, Outlaw a pursuivant, with others picked for the purpose, who beset the house first afar off. In the meantime cometh Eglesfield unto the door; and Mr. Boast, being ready to ride away, and coming unto the door, was saluted by the traitor, by kneeling down and asking him a priest's blessing, and so returned back to his company, who now was come nearer the house, and placed in such sort that none could pass away unapprehended. Wherefore the blessed man, perceiving himself to be betrayed (as he feared before, upon some mislike, the fellow's treachery), entered into

a secret conveyance to save himself. Wherefore they entered and searched the house, and rifled all; broke up the boarded floor of the parlour where the Lady Margaret lay, and found a conveyance below; found their church stuff in the bottom of a cupboard in the chamber above, but could not find the man they sought for. Eglesfield, who would not come into the house with the rest, lest he were descried a traitor, cometh to the outside of the house, demandeth if they found him, assuring them he was within, and assigned them to break about the chimney and they should have him; for, not mistrusting any treachery, they had made him privy to their secrets. So was he found and apprehended, and carried away to Durham with the Lady Margaret and her maid, the gentlewoman of the house with others. This news being brought unto the President, he was so glad and pleasant that day as might be, affirming that he had gotten one of the greatest stags in the forest; and the next day came in all haste to Durham (for he was at Darlington) to examine the martyr and the rest that were with him. Wherein Mr. Boast declared himself both resolute, bold, joyful, and pleasant; and afterwards was assaulted with divers ministers, the particulars of which conferences I could not as yet obtain. One pleasant thing I heard reported generally, that a minister entering with him into some argument about images, and alleging out of Deuteronomy xxvii., *Maledictus homo qui facit sculptile*, as he interpreted, "Cursed is the man that maketh any image," Mr. Boast answered merrily, "Then," saith he, "cursed is he that maketh the knave of clubs" (for by that term was the minister termed, when he was student in Oxford, for his deserts), and so was he dashed.

From Durham was he carried to York, and from thence to London, and from London back again to the place where he gained his crown and victory: in the which space of time, as appeareth by his own letters,

he was examined fifteen several times, four times laid upon the rack, and once hung up in the manacles, the which he affirmed to be the most painful torment of all the rest; during which torment the apostate Major was brought in unto him, and avouched that he had been with him in several places in the north, and by force of that torment they pressed out of him the confession of the same, for which he asked God forgiveness; but being out of the torment, he renounced that he had said before, and protested that for avoiding of that extreme pain he had said otherways than became him.

Mr. John Ingram having employed his travel, since his mission from the Seminary, in the country of Scotland, for the restoring of souls out of heresy unto the unity of the Catholic Church, upon some urgent occasion had been in England, and returning back again and entered into a boat to pass over the river of Tweed into Scotland (November 25, 1593), was stayed by the keepers of Norham Castle, apprehended, and carried to Berwick, there being kept under the safe custody of Mr. John Carew, governor of the town, and used very courteously, until such time as the Lord President caused him to be brought from thence to York, where he was kept very close in the Manor, and very hardly used, and in the end, a little before Easter, was sent also to London, there being also very straitly examined, hardly used, and put also to torture, wherein (as appeareth by his own writing) he confessed nothing to the hurt of either man, woman, or child, or any place he had frequented; insomuch that Topcliffe said he was a monster of all other for his exceeding taciturnity. During the time he was in the north he went by the name of a Scotsman, but by means of false brethren he was betrayed unto the President. Divers times he was assaulted by ministers, but he put them to the foil. He was taken upon St. Catherine's day, upon which day he

had taken the holy order of priesthood. These and divers other extremities he endured, as may appear by his letters and certain epigrams he made during his restraint.

These two blessed men, having overcome all other trials, and vanquished their adversaries in these lesser skirmishes, were soon thought fit to be assailed with the last and most dangerous conflict. Wherefore, being appointed to die, [they] were both together sent back again into the north country, having their feet tied under the horse's belly, for fear of flying, and the one severed a certain distance from the other, by the way, lest they might confer or comfort the one the other. So they arrived at York about the 13th day of July, and from thence to Durham, to be arraigned at the next assizes holden the 22nd of the same month following. Mr. Ingram in the meantime, before the day of the assizes, was first carried unto Newcastle, and put in a prison called the New Gate. Being there, there came a gentlewoman to visit him that had been before acquainted with him when he was prisoner in Berwick, that had shown herself favourable towards him there. She asking how he did, he answered her, "Well," and thanked her for his courteous entertainment at Berwick; saying that he had been harder used since he departed from there, as that he had long time wanted a bed to lie in, &c., affirming withal that it did better content him the more hardlier he was used, although he had cause to thank her and others that had better entertained him. The gentlewoman, perceiving him very joyful, said unto him that she marvelled to see him so merry, considering what he looked for; and he answered that he had great cause to be merry, because his wedding-day being at hand, the bridegroom must needs be glad, for within ten days he hoped to enjoy his Spouse. She said that it was true his hope was good, but his banquet was deadly; but he answered that the reward was sweet. When the gentlewoman came to him she found him at

dinner, having no other dainties for the present than bread and water, for it was Friday. So she took her leave, and he was carried the next day to Durham, towards the assizes.

The same gentlewoman reported that when he was taken and brought to Berwick the governor caused him to be searched, and finding certain relics about him of some martyrs before executed, would have cast them into the fire and burnt them, but the good man grieved thereat to lose such a treasure, requested him very earnestly and importunately not to do so, but rather take from him all that he had and put him to what torment he would, so he might have them again; so, in the end, they were delivered unto him, and he kissed them, showing himself most joyful that he had recovered his treasure again. Here follow his epigram and letters. [Father Holtby then gives two close pages of Latin verse, of which we give a single epigram as a specimen, not so much of the holy martyr's verses, as of his undaunted spirit. It was cut in the walls of the Tower of London by him when in expectation of martyrdom.

'Επίγραμμα jocosum in tumulum.

Pro tumulo lapides fodiuntur viscera terræ,
Ut vivos dives possit habere suo:
Ast ego non quæro tumbam; sed vivida tumba
Pro nostro exangui corpore corvus erit.][1]

In the year 1594, the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of July, were the assizes holden at Durham, at which were the Lord Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord-Lieutenant and President in the north, together with Matthew Hutton, supposed Bishop of Durham, Justice Beaumont, Baron Ewinges, justices of the assizes, and many others. The first day, being the 22nd, Hutton made a seditious and bloody sermon before the judges,

[1] Father Grene's copy of these epigrams are in his *Collectan. N.* i. p. 41. The following lines are a translation of the one above given.

Men to the living rock resort
For their sepulchral stones:
A living tomb is mine, unsought—
The crow that picks my bones.

to prepare their minds towards their future proceedings, with certain invectives against the Pope, Seminaries, priests, &c., incensing the judges to prosecute with all rigour the justice, or rather cruelty, of the law against such persons and their fautors, as by occasions should be produced before them. The 23rd day, the President, with the justices and the rest, being set, the Bishop also being in place by the commandment of the President (for these men regard no irregularities), the jury was impanelled for trial of life and death; which done, the clerk of the assizes said, "Gaoler, bring forth thy prisoner, John Boast, unto the bar." Who appearing, the clerk said, "John Boast, hold up thy hand," which being done, the clerk read his indictment, containing that John Boast, being a natural Englishman, born at Dufton, in the county of Westmoreland, had, without licence, departed the realm into foreign countries, where, by authority of the Bishop of Rome, since the first year of her Majesty's reign, he was made a Seminary priest, and so had again returned into England; and at Waterhouse, in the county of Durham, such a day (naming the time of his taking or thereabouts), had said Mass, contrary to her Majesty's laws, her crown and dignity, &c., and asked him if he were guilty or no? "Not guilty," quoth he. *Clerk:* "How wilt thou be tried?" *Boast:* "By the clergy, viz., by an inquest of priests." *Beaumont:* "There is no such trial in use, nor allowed in England, at this day." *Boast:* "Then I will be tried by your own consciences." *Beaumont:* "You must say whether you will be tried by God, and the country, or no: which if you refuse, there is a shorter course for you." *Boast:* "I am a priest of the Holy Catholic Church; and I came though unworthy, according unto St. Paul, to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, whereof I am not ashamed, and to minister the sacraments unto my dearly beloved countrymen." *Ewinges:* "Sirrah, you came not hither to preach: you

shall be dealt withal well enough: if you will not submit yourself to the ordinary trial, we will have another way for you. Thou art an obstinate villain." *Boast:* "Woe be to them that have taught that true obedience to the Queen and true religion cannot stand together well. I do not mean that any of this inquest shall stand charged or be guilty of my blood. I had rather confess the whole indictment." *Beaumont:* "Then you do confess that you are an Englishman, and have travelled beyond the seas, was there made priest, by authority from the Bishop of Rome, since the first year of her Majesty's reign, and have returned and said Mass in England, according to the indictment?" *Boast:* "All that I must needs confess, and am not ashamed of it, but do greatly rejoice that I have done so." *Beaumont:* "Then enter his confession upon record: the jury shall not be troubled with him: the court may proceed against him upon his own confession." Here Mr. Boast offered to speak, but he was not suffered. *Ewinges:* "Carry him away from the bar, for he is so impudent and will seduce the people." And so he was carried again into prison, the people flocking about him in going, and he sundry times wishing to God to send them good instructors.

Clerk: "John Ingram, priest, hold up thy hand." *Ingram:* "Here, my Lords;" and so held up his hand. *Clerk:* "Thou art indicted by the name of John Ingram, the son of —— Ingram, of Stoke, in the county of Hereford, Esq., for that thou, being a natural Englishmen," &c., as in the other, omitting the point of Mass-saying. *Ingram:* "Not guilty." *Clerk:* "How wilt thou be tried?" *Ingram:* "Though I ought not to be tried by your temporal laws, before I be dealt withal by a lawful clergy, yet will I not stand thereupon:—by God and the country." *Clerk:* "God send ye a good deliverance" (a speech ordinary). Ingram here confessed that

he had been out of England fifteen years, whereof a certain space at Douay, where he was instructed by one Columbus, a Jesuit. The residue of his time he spent at other Universities, and for four of the last years at Rome, where he took the order of priesthood. And [he said] that he came from Rome to Scotland, where he lived, minding not at all to come into England, because of the persecution there; and he was, even upon his coming into England, pursued in Scotland, and constrained to avoid the same, for fear of his life. He came into England, and stayed but ten hours, and returning to Scotland was taken upon the water of Tweed before he had performed any priestly function in England, and therefore, as he thought, not guilty by the force of any law or statute of force in England; "considering that I was forced for safety of my life to come in, and made no stay." The President charged him, that he had been longer in England, and had travelled further, as, namely, through Newcastle into the Bishopric, in the company of one that would avow the same: but the avower was not present to be seen. Ingram then, in the Latin tongue, recited an ancient Roman law, containing that every witness for life and death should be produced face to face; and took God to record he never was in Newcastle, nor in the Bishopric, but when he was brought that way as a prisoner. The President said that, when he was at York, he called Mr. Ingram unto him into his garden; and, at that time, he had placed the other party (not present, and who he said before would avow it) in a window, where he might behold Ingram's face, for the space of his going all the length of the garden, and so dismissed Ingram to his keeper and came to the party in the window, who told him that Ingram was the same man that he before had told him to have been in a gentleman's house in Northumberland, and with whom also that party had travelled through Newcastle

into the Bishopric withal, and had left him at Gateside-head, &c. Ingram denied ever to have been in any house in Northumberland saving during the said ten hours that he was in an ale-house, where he ate and drank; and that he came forth of Scotland at Wark, and was to go back at Norham, where he was taken. The President named one unto him that had informed him, but Mr. Ingram protested that it was not so, and prayed God to forgive him. *President:* "Ingram, you know that I brought unto you at York another Seminary priest, Mr. Hardesty, who, as soon as he saw you saluted you by the name of Monsieur Messingamus; where, before, you had told me you were a Scot, and that your name was Ogleby; but, in truth, you were deceived of your purpose. Your meaning was to have met with Walpole and your uncle, one Lyngam, in Scotland, and so to have travelled into England, but God prevented that by forcing them to land in Yorkshire and so were taken." *Ingram:* "The changing of my name is no such offence. Many examples" [of good men might be brought.] *Beaumont:* "My lord, the jury hath heard the evidence. He hath confessed himself to be a priest, made by the authority of the Bishop of Rome since the first of this Queen: his coming into England, though he but set his foot within the land, is treason; whereof let the jury consider." Then Mr. Pepper, as the Queen's Attorney, did enforce against him divers his examinations, tending to the effect aforesaid; adding withal but with no small impudency, that where he and others of his coat pretended, to the slander of the present State, that they died for religion, it was nothing so; but they died for treason against the ancient laws of this land, and namely, a law made the 25th of Edward III., which he declared was directly against him and all other Jesuits and priests; and, therefore, that it was injurious to say they were condemned by any new law, &c.: as though the world knew not that these priests, now arraigned, were arraigned

upon a new statute made in the 27th of Elizabeth, and that the law of Edward III. was made before either Jesuit or Seminary priest was spoken of; for to be a priest was never against any statute in England. Then Mr. Ingram showed that the statute alleged was not against him, nor any of his coat; and that it was never so taken, that any Englishman going to Rome and taking orders and returning, was adjudged therefore a traitor; "for, indeed, that statute is for matters of benefices; but your statute is for being a priest. He is, *ipso facto*, a traitor: whatever he do or say, his every action is treason." After his speech Pepper prepared to reply, but was prevented by the judge, who said—*Ewinges:* "It is enough; the jury hath heard him confess that he was made a priest, by the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and that he came into England contrary to the law. It is evidence enough for the jury," &c. And so was Mr. Ingram carried from the bar to prison.

Clerk: "Bring George Swallowell to the bar, George Swallowell, hold up your hand." Which done, there was read against him an indictment for persuading one John Willie from the religion established unto the Romish religion, telling him he could never be saved by any religion but by the Catholic faith, for which the four priests[1] were lately, as he said, executed at Durham; that the Queen, being a woman, could not be head of the Church; with divers other words tending to treason, and withdrawing the said Willie from his due obedience to her Majesty's laws. To this whole indictment the said Swallowell pleaded "Not guilty," saying that it was the malice of Dr. Bellamy that had procured all this against him. Then were read the examinations of one Willie and of one Finch, taken before the Bishop of Durham, which contained the effect of the indictment. But the prisoner called for Willie to

[1] Edmund Duke, Richard Hill, John Hog, and Richard Holiday, were martyred at Durham, May 27, 1590.

appear, but he was not there. Then Finch came into the court, and gave evidence that Willie had told him that Swallowell had spoken the words in manner and form aforesaid: and further, that he, the said Finch, having been at the execution of the four priests, came to Sherbourne House, where he then served, and made report of the manner of their deaths. Upon all which Swallowell said that, no doubt, these priests were martyrs before God. Upon which relation the jury were to consider of their verdict.

In the afternoon, the same 23rd day, John Ingram and George Swallowell were brought to the bar, when the jury was to give in their verdict, who pronounced that they were both guilty of high treason. Whereat Mr. Ingram protested earnestly, and took God and His holy angels to witness that he was condemned for religion only. *President:* "Thou liest most falsely: thou art condemned for most vile treason against the Queen's Majesty." *Ingram:* "My lord, I die only for religion, and for the same religion by the which and no other your lordship and this whole bench must be saved, if ever you will be saved." *Beaumont:* "Thou art impudent, and knowest not what thou sayest: the law telleth thee that thou diest for high treason. Take him away from the bar." *Ingram:* "There is no Christian law in the world that can make the saying and sacrifice of the Mass treason; and as well might the celebrating of the Maundy of Christ's disciples be made treason, as the saying and hearing of Mass be made treason." *Beaumont:* "Away with him! he will seduce the ignorant people." Here Swallowell would have prostrated himself for mercy, but was remitted from the bar with Mr. Ingram for that day.

The next morning all those that were found guilty were brought unto the bar to hear their judgment. And first of all Mr. Boast, who, holding up his hand, was asked what he could say, that he should not receive judgment

to die. Mr. Boast answered that he was glad that God had called him unto that trial of his priesthood and profession, and very sorry that the laws of his beloved country were such as could not concur with the holy Catholic faith. Here the President told him of his being at Ardington, at a marriage, where also was one Ballard,[1] a priest, who told him of an invasion towards, by the King of Spain, which he said Boast traitorously concealed. Mr. Boast confessed that then and there he spoke with Ballard, and that Ballard told him of an invasion, and that he reproved Ballard for the same, saying, "Thou and I are priests: it is our function to invade souls, and not to meddle with these temporal invasions; they belong not to us." And he added further, that "whosoever doth further charge me in that, or in any other thing that is contained in my confession under mine own hand, he doth charge me untruly, be he a lord or whosoever, and I thought I had deserved no blame in that; for, to tell every tale one heareth, and that which one may tell, could not be warrant, or, if any such thing were, had been folly." "Nay, more," quoth the President, "you did then rejoice to hear of it, and was very desirous to be made acquainted with the secrets thereof; but if your treasons had come to pass, where then had been Queen Elizabeth, whom I beseech God preserve ever and ever?" and the rest said "Amen." Mr. Boast was further urged that he had taken the oath of supremacy in Oxford, in Queen's College, and was a minister, and by this revolt was an apostate and stained with perjury, and had been a lewd fellow. He answered, "*Infinite peccavi, miserere mei Deus;*"[2] and, "*Nunquam sera est ad bonos mores via.*[3] Because I once persecuted, therefore, by your reason, I must persevere therein. St. Austin, if he was a

[1] John Ballard died at Tyburn for his share in the Babington conspiracy, Sept. 20, 1586.

[2] "I have sinned infinitely, have mercy on me, O God."

[3] "The way to a good life is never too late."

Manichee, yet died a good Christian and a saint;" and offering to speak a little more, was commanded by Beaumont to be silent, who said he had had too much liberty of speech; yet was urged again by Stanhope that he was perjured, in that he had sworn to take orders after a time being in the College in Oxford. He said, "Your orders of clergy were not known nor heard of when the statutes of the House were made;" and so was Stanhope put to silence and ashamed of his speech.

Then the clerk said, "John Ingram, hold up thy hand. What canst thou say that thou shouldst not receive judgment?" "I say that I am a priest, and that my exercise and practice of priesthood cannot be called or made treason by any Christian law; and I beseech God to forgive both you and them that make it otherways. And I do with all my heart forgive you, and all my accusers and persecutors; and so I beseech God to have mercy upon me, and to strengthen me with patience and constancy in mine agony."

Clerk: Swallowell, hold up thy hand. What canst thou say that thou shouldst not," &c. *Swallowell:* "Good my lords, be good unto me; I am falsely and maliciously accused. Dr. Bellamy seeketh my blood for some advantage to himself, by making profit of my place in Sherbourne House when I am gone. I was brought up there, under Mr. Thomas and Mr. Ralph Lever, and by them preferred. I beseech God to bless the Queen's Majesty and confound all her enemies." *President:* "Wilt thou defy the Pope, and his laws, and all Seminary priests and Jesuits?" *Swallowell:* "Yea, my lord, I defy them all." *Beaumont:* "Will you fight in her Majesty's behalf, against the Pope, the King of Spain, and all Papists, her enemies?" *Swallowell:* "I will fight against them while I am able to stand." *President:* "Will you take the oath of her Majesty's supremacy?" *Swallowell:* "Yea, my lord, whensoever you will."

Here the President and the judges privately consulted, and it was expected that Swallowell should be reprieved. *Beaumont:* "Well, then, you three, Boast, Ingram, and Swallowell, for you are all condemned for treason, attend your judgments." First he made a short exhortation, wherein he told them it was a marvel they would so much advance the Pope above princes in spiritual matters. "I will," quoth he, "tell you of an ancient record, proving the authority of the Kings of England in matters spiritual;" and then declared how Eleutherius, an ancient godly Bishop of Rome, "but no Pope, I warrant you"—he receiving letters from King Lucius of England, wherein he prayed him to send him some good laws, whereby he might govern his kingdom, Eleutherius answered, "*Habes utramque paginam*," &c. *i.e.* "Thou hast both the Old and the New Testament. Counsel with the wise men of the kingdom, and gather laws thereout for thyself; for thou art the vicar of God in thy own kingdom." Here Mr. Boast smiled, and would have spoken, but was interrupted; yet he brake out with these words, viz., "It is doubtful whether that epistle of Pope Eleutherius be counterfeit or current. For my own part, I have sought much for it and could never find it, but [only] a report of it, out of Mr. Jewell and such like authors." This said, Beaumont proceeded to judgment, pronouncing sentence as in case of high treason is used, concluding with, "God have mercy upon you." Mr. Boast, kneeling down and stretching forth his hands, thanked God that had given him grace to confess His Name before them all, and said he did glory in it. Mr. Ingram said, "*Te Deum laudamus*," &c., a verse or two thereof; and then Mr. Ingram and he kissed their hands and embraced each other. Swallowell then said, "My lords, my lords, I pray you hear me. Let me die with these two blessed martyrs. I will be a Catholic, and die as they do; and here I do renounce and am sorry for that which last I said

against the Catholics, and am now by these two blessed martyrs' examples resolved to be a Catholic;" and thereof made many vehement protestations, disturbing the court for the present, who all fell into a laughter against him upon his sudden change. Hereat Mr. Boast, standing next him, clapped him on the head with his hand, and said, "Hold thee there, and I warrant thee." Then the President said, "We do laugh at him, but there is more cause to weep for him," and seemed to lament his sudden revolt very much. But Swallowell so persisted in his last revolt that the court being disturbed therewith, the President and the judges commanded the two priests from the bar, who as they retired to their prison there came a minister to Mr. Boast, and offered conference. The under-sheriff commanded him away, saying, "My lord had commanded that none should speak with them." But Mr. Boast said to the sheriff, "Let him come; I will talk with him; but I would have heard my Lord of Durham say something."

Whilst Mr. Boast and Ingram were at the bar, the prisoners convicted of felony for sundry crimes, some of them were to have the benefit of the clergy, and to such the Ordinary held the book;[1] but Mr. Beaumont said to him, "Let nobody prompt them. Look well to the priests, for they are so pitiful they will prompt them." And indeed Mr. Boast did his endeavour to them all that were near him, covering his face with a hat that he might not be espied. All which done the whole gaol were dismissed.

It seemed good to the President and judges that the two priests and Swallowell should die for public example's sake at three sundry places; viz. Mr. Boast at Durham, Mr. Ingram at Gateside-head, and Swallowell at Darlington. Upon Wednesday, the 24th of July, 1594,

[1] From early times in England all who could read might claim benefit of clergy in capital felonies; but by an Act in the reign of Henry VII. laymen could claim their clergy but once, and then were burned in the hand. Benefit of clergy was finally abolished in 1827.

Mr. Boast was brought in a cart to the place of his execution. In the way great guard was used that none should come near the cart save only the officers and sundry ministers; and the justices were appointed to note the manner of execution and observe the people's behaviours, and to take heed that none should speak unto him. Being come unto the place, he came forth of the cart, and at the ladder foot kneeled down on both his knees, and privately prayed unto himself, and after made the sign of the Cross on the side of the ladder, and so ascended up, and turning him unto the people began to speak; but was interrupted and willed not to speak but to pray for the Queen and to confess his offences and to crave pardon. He said that if ever in his life or temporal conversation he had offended her Majesty or her laws he was sorry and did ask her forgiveness; but for his exercise of priest's function, being the service of God, it could not be offensive to her Highness, nor to any estate in the world, and therefore it neither needed repentance from him, nor forgiveness by her. Then was he willed to hold his tongue, or to make an end of his prayers. All this while the rope was about his neck, and one at the foot of the ladder ready to turn the same if he should offer to speak offensively. Then he began a prayer in Latin, which was one of the Psalms of David Whether it were *Levavi oculos*, or *Ad te levavi*, I am not yet assured, for the words my information gave me are not right recited; but he offered to have made certain expositions of the words, and upon some of them he gave this note, that he gave God thanks that had called him from the detestable estate of heresy, wherein once he was plunged, to be a professor of His most holy Catholic religion. And here he was interrupted again. Then one in the press among the horsemen spoke something unto him, and he craved earnestly at the sheriff's hands that he might answer him, but was denied. "Well then," quoth he, "seeing that neither living nor dying I can be suffered

to speak, then I beseech God that my death and blood may speak for all;" and so, with a few prayers being said by him, he was turned off the ladder, where he hung till he was scarce half dead, and so was cut down and hauled to the pit where the fire was. Where, as he felt the butcher his knife, he spoke to him and said, "God forgive thee, go on, go on." And again, *Asperges me, Domine; Domine, Domine, miserere,*[1] and so died. His quarters were set on the Castle, and his head upon Framegate [Framwell Gate] Bridge in the town, the which was taken away that night by some of his friends.

Upon Friday, being the 26th of July, Mr. John Ingram was by the under-sheriff conveyed to Gateside. The cart, therefore, coming to the prison, he was brought forth and laid therein, and entering into the cart he used these words, *Tanquam agnus innocens ad occisionem ductus sum,*[2] and being so carried out of the town, there was a horse prepared for him, and so he rid the rest of the way on horseback, without boots or cloak, having upon his head a white coif only, with a JESUS wrought in the forehead with red silk (as also Mr. Boast had, towards his execution, a night cap with a coif under it turned up, and thereupon a JESUS wrought in black silk, and as it were a holy lamb above it), holding the bridle in the left hand, and his right hand up, praying; but it seemed that he had no perfect use of his right hand, by reason of racking, for he could not hold it very upright. His horse was changed at Chester, and another delivered unto him; . . . and between the under-sheriff and the aldermen of Durham was conveyed unto the Tollbooth in Gateside. Upon his alighting by Captain Ellis, the President's man, and others, a speech was raised that Mr. Ingram attempted to have escaped and drowned himself in Tyne, which was neither true, or could be true, nor any attempt to any such purpose

[1] Thou shalt sprinkle me, O Lord; O Lord, have mercy.
[2] I am led as an innocent lamb to the slaughter.

made by him; and one hearing Ellis report the tale who had come in company with him did openly reprove him for it to his face in Mr. ——'s house. The same day, about three of the clock at afternoon, or a little before, all things at the place of execution being ready, Mr. Ingram was then laid in another cart, and from the Tollbooth was drawn to the place of execution. And being come thither he prayed upon his knees in the cart, and after prostrated himself upon his face and belly. After a while he descended from the cart, and sat down on both his knees and prayed again; and making a Cross upon the ladder and kissing it, he ascended up, and turning his face to the people he said, "I take God and His holy angels to the record, that I die only for the holy Catholic faith and religion, and do rejoice and thank God with all my heart that hath made me worthy to testify my faith therein, by the spending of my blood in this manner." And then the sheriff interrupted him and willed him to make an end of his prayers. Then he required the people to consider in what a damnable estate they stood in, through erroneous religion, as he termed it. Then one Banister, a follower of the judges, said, "Mr. Sheriff, he is preaching unto the people." Then the sheriff again interrupted him. Then he was willed to pray for the Queen, and he prayed God that she might long reign to His glory, and that it might please Him to procure her to live and die a good Catholic Christian prince. "Marry, God defend," quoth Hutton, parson of Gateside; and they were offended he had prayed in that manner; and he answered that they bade him pray for her. The rope being put about his neck, the which he kissed twice before it was put on, he said his *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, with *Ora pro nobis*, *Sancta Dei Genetrix*, &c., *Credo*, and the Psalm *Miserere mei Deus*, desiring the baylie that stood at the foot of the ladder that he would spare him until he had made an end of that Psalm, which

done, making the sign of the Cross upon himself, and saying, *In manus tuas*, &c., the ladder was turned; and being dead, he was cut down, bowelled, and quartered, as the manner is. His quarters were sent to Newcastle, his head set up upon the bridge, with Mr. Lampton's and Mr. Waterson's, and his blessed soul received triumphantly among the celestial spirits in the kingdom of his heavenly Father.

Upon Monday following, George Swallowell, sometime a minister or reader in the hospital of Sherbourne House,[1] so-called, was carried to Darlington to be executed. It was God's providence that he was reserved to see the examples of these two priests, and so to have this occasion to win his crown; for he had been at a gaol-delivery, at Candlemas before, brought unto the bar, but was reprieved by the Lord President and remitted unto the general assizes before the judges, and if this occasion had not been it is very probable that he should have been quit [acquitted] and continued in his former estate. Being brought unto the place of execution, and a room made for him, there came in four or five ministers, but he said, "Mr. Sheriff, you promised me that I should not be troubled; I pray you take them away." They urged him that he was a minister, and of another profession; and he answered that he was sorry for it that he had been so. Then the under-sheriff commanded him to go up the ladder, which done, he said unto him, "Now hear me a little; thou art condemned for a traitor against the Queen's Majesty, and art to receive thy punishment according to thy deserts. Confess thy fault and ask the Queen forgiveness." Then he answered that he had offended God and asked Him forgiveness, for he had given to Cæsar more than was Cæsar's due; and so, desiring all Catholics to pray for him, he said his own prayers in Latin, and being turned off the ladder and

[1] Challoner says, at Houghton le Spring in the Bishopric.

dead, was cut down, bowelled, and quartered.[1] His quarters were buried together at the foot of a stack or heap of furze, and his head was appointed to be set up on the Tollbooth; his soul receiving a whole hire, though he came not to the vineyard before the eleventh hour.

NOTE.—In the Will Office attached to York Minster, amongst other inestimable treasures, are preserved in seventeen volumes the original Acts of the Ecclesiastical Commission of the North. We content ourselves with a very few extracts to illustrate Father Holtby's narrative.

On Saturday, March 25, 1592, in the manor house of the dissolved Abbey of St. Mary's, York, Henry Earl of Huntingdon Lord President of the North presiding over the Ecclesiastical Commission, Ralph Babthorpe of Osgodby, and William Hungate of Septon, Esquires, appeared in person, and were each of them bound "in five hundred marks to procure that morning and evening prayers appointed in the Book of Common Prayer be hereafter daily held in their houses, and their children and household servants ordinarily to hear the same; also not to keep or hereafter retain in their houses or service any of their children or servants, being of lawful age, not dutifully and usually resorting to the church, there to hear Divine Service and receive the Holy Communion at least so often yearly as is appointed in the said Book of Common Prayer; neither to admit nor suffer any that shall be known to be disobedient in religion to remain or usually to repair to their house."

The day before this proceeding the wives of these and other gentlemen were thus disposed of. "And because she [Margaret, wife of Sir Henry Constable] refused to hear Divine Service or to conform herself towards religion established, the said Commissioners committed her to the custody of Mr. William Watkinson, by a warrant in writing to keep her close prisoner in his house

[1] The account of Swallowell's martyrdom given by Bishop Challoner does not altogether agree with this, and is fuller in detail.

without access of any person to her, saving of a maid to attend her, being such one as will repair to the Church to hear Divine Service." So Mistress Babthorpe was committed to "Mr. Thomas Buskell, Esq.," and Mistress Hungate to "Mr. William Paler, Esq."—gentlemen of whose names we should probably be in ignorance but for this circumstance. The delicate attention of the Commissioners, that the ladies' maids should go to the Protestant church, shows how carefully they studied the work given them to do.

However, the gentlemen who consented to act as these ladies' gaolers were soon relieved of their charge. On Friday, the 13th of April, 1592, "in the prebendal[1] house of Ulleskelf, within the cloister of the cathedral church of York, and before the most Rev. Father in Christ, John Lord Archbishop of York, the most noble Henry Earl of Huntingdon, and the venerable Sir Christopher Hildyard, Knight, John Benet, doctor of laws, William Hildyard, Esq., and William Palmer, Chancellor of the Church of York, in the presence of me, Henry Proctor, public notary: which day, hour and place the said Commissioners for divers causes them moving, and especially because the favour showed to the persons hereafter named, by committing them to divers gentlemen's houses where they have been well entreated, and conference of godly preachers to move them to forsake the errors, if it would so have fallen out, could take no place with them [*sic*], committed them, viz., the Lady Margaret Constable, wife of Sir Henry Constable, Knight; Mrs. Catherine Ingleby, wife of W. Ingleby, Esq.; Mrs. Catherine Metham, wife of Thomas Metham, Esq.; Mrs. Grace Babthorpe, wife of Ralph Babthorpe, Esq.; Mrs. Margaret Hungate, wife of W. Hungate, Esq.; and Mrs. Elizabeth Lawson, wife of Ralph Lawson, Esq., to the keeper of the Castle of Sheriff Hutton by warrants made for that purpose to Richard Pollard, gent., keeper of the same castle, and signed other warrants to be delivered to the gentlemen where they now remain, commanding them and any of them thereby upon receipt of their warrants to deliver the said gentlewomen and any of them to Roger Collier, her Majesty's pursuivant, who by like warrants was commanded to receive them

[1] These legal Latin phrases are translated in these extracts.

and to convey them to the said Castle of Sheriff Hutton. And then and there the said Mr. Richard Pollard entered into recognizance of one thousand marks well, truly, and safely to keep them according to orders to him given for that purpose."

Before the end of the year Sir Henry Constable obtained leave from the Privy Council for his wife to go to London, provided that he should first enter into recognizance before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He accordingly appeared before three of them on the 5th of December, 1592, and the following were the conditions they required. He was bound in a thousand marks "that the Lady Constable his wife shall, within seven days after her enlargement forth of Sheriff Hutton Castle, where she now remaineth, take her journey into the south parts; and that after her said enlargement and before her departure into the south parts she shall not repair to any of her husband's houses, neither make any longer abode within the county of York after her coming from Sheriff Hutton, but only five or six days at the house of Mr. John More of the city of York (if she will), to prepare herself for the said journey into the south parts. And also not to repair to any house during her absence where either the man or the wife thereof are known to her to be recusants, neither to confer or talk with any seminary, Jesuit, or Popish priests during her said absence, nor yet to confer or talk with any person or persons known to her to be disobedient in religion now established within this realm in matters of religion during her said absence. And also within twelve days after her said enlargement to confer twice in every week during her said absence with some learned [preacher *erased*] divine for her conformity in religion now established. And also that she shall personally appear before the Queen's Majesty's said Commissioners or three of them in the common place within the metropolitical church of York, upon the 6th day of March now next coming, unless in the meantime she conform herself to the godly religion now established within this realm, and thereof send true and sufficient certificate to the said Commissioners or three of them, upon the 6th day of March next, to the same place. And hereunto the Most Reverend Father in God, John, by God's providence, Lord Archbishop of York, Mr. Edward Stanhope, John Gibson, Ralph Rokeby, William Palmer, and

Robert Waterhouse, esquires, gave their consents, as appeareth from certain articles whereto they subscribed their names remaining of record, by means of letters written by the lords and others of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in her behalf; and that done a warrant was delivered unto Sir Henry Constable, Knight, for his wife's enlargement."

On Tuesday, May 30, 1592, the Archbishop presiding, the Commissioners "did commit Peter Knaresburgh for his obstinate refusing to go to church, to the custody of Richard Qucaly *quousque*, and Bridget Maskew, wife of Thomas Maskew, merchant, to the sheriffs of York, to be kept prisoner in Ousebridge *donec*, &c. And did also set down and decree that Mrs. Katherine Ratcliff and Mrs. Margaret Cholmeley should be sent to the keeper of Rotherham College to be kept prisoners there for their recusancy in case the keeper come within seven days now next coming to enter bond for their safe keeping, &c., but if he do not come, that the said Mrs. Ratcliff should be presently after the expiration of those seven days sent to Hull, and the said Mrs. Cholmeley to Knaresburgh Castle, to be kept prisoners there according to orders delivered for that purpose."

One more specimen from the same date. "Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, May 23, 1592. The Office of the Lords [Judges or Commissioners] against John Constable, gent., Richard Stapleton, gent., Cyril Ardington, Laurence Lister, James Thwaites, Thomas Lassells, and Robert Wright, esquires. Several precepts are directed to every of them personally to appear this day and to bring in with them their wives. On which day James Thwaites personally appeared and brought in a certificate signed by the hands of Thomas Lassells and Christopher Wandesford, esquires, whereby it appeareth that his wife had heard Service once in Mr. Lassells' house in presence of the said gentlemen, and Mr. Thwaites confessed that he hitherto never received the Holy Communion." The rest of the entry respecting him is written on the margin, and we can almost imagine that we see the poor man hesitating and delaying to the last moment, and at length authorizing the notary to record the words that follow. "And the said Mr. Thwaites, to satisfy the Commissioners, offered himself to receive the Communion before the 4th of July next,

and that his wife should repair to the church and there hear Service and certify; whereupon he was licensed to depart.

"Then Laurence Lister, Esq., personally appeared and brought in his wife before the Lords Commissioners; and his said wife, being asked when she was last at church, answered, 'Seven or eight years ago;' and then interrogated what the cause was she hath absented herself since from the church, she answered that her conscience would not suffer her; and refused to say the Lord's Prayer or to join with the congregation in prayer within the church; and also refused conference with learned preachers: whereupon she was committed to prison, and sent to Hull Castle by warrant.

"Then personally appeared Anthony Scarcroft, servant, as he saith, of Mr. Joseph Constable, who brought in the recognizance signed by the hand of the same Mr. Constable, whereby it appeared that he was, since the precept delivered him, ridden to London by virtue of a bond of 300*l.* there to appear: whereupon the said Commissioners decreed an attachment against him for the next sessions."

We must now content ourselves with one or two further extracts from another period to show something more of the character of these records. The first shall be a specimen of the way in which a poor Catholic could be kept dancing attendance. In 1580 the Commission went on circuit, and on Monday, the 8th of August, it held its Court at Old Malton. One of the best blood of the county was called before them, John Constable of Hatfield, esquire. "He appeared and confessed that he neither resorted to the church nor doth communicate, nor hath done this five year last past. And being persuaded to conform himself to religion now established by the Commissioners, they pitying his case, being blinded with deep error, enjoined and commanded him to attend upon them all their progress and circuit, and to confer with the Lord Archbishop his Grace and his chaplain, and hear sermons preached by them during the same time and space until their return homewards." Another hand-writing records the result. "Notwithstanding, the said John Constable utterly refused the same, and obstinately refused to go to the church and to communicate, holding the

opinion of transubstantiation; and was thereupon committed to close prison in the Castle of York, *quousque*, &c., and appointed to be conveyed thither by Edward Fawcett, one of the Sheriffs of the city of York."

The next relates to a faltering member of the family that gave us exactly a century later our last martyred priest. John Thwing of Huton Craunceswick appeared before the Commissioners at Beverley on the 22nd of August, 1580, "and being charged with obstinate disobedience in religion, by way of answer said that he hath been and yet is and intendeth to continue conformable in the godly religion now allowed and established in this realm and constantly avouched his sincerity in that behalf and entered recognizance to that end. After which the Bench, receiving credible information and advertisement that he is household servant to Mr. Henry Constable, Esq., a favourer of religion, and conceiving by reason of the premisses good hope of the said John Thwing touching religion, released the said recognizance, and only enjoined him to continue his conformity in that behalf, and so for this time dismissed him till further matter appear."

On the same day, before others of the Commissioners sitting at Ripon, "Thomas Brygges, clerk, of Pateley Brygges, did personally appear, and being thought and reported to be himself backward in matters of religion and to seduce others by his sinister whispering in their ears, and being willed before the assembly then and there present to yield his opinion upon those two texts of Scripture, viz., *Tu es Petrus* and *Hoc est corpus meum*, for their satisfaction who stood in doubt of his zeal in God's truth, he presently refused to do it publicly and showed himself very unwilling to do it; and at last spoke something thereof very absurdly; wherefore and for other causes the Commissioners moving, the said Brigges was committed to the Castle of York, there to remain prisoner *donec*," &c. Terrible words are the *donec* and *quousque* with which the orders for imprisonment conclude. It makes the term indefinite. The convicts are to remain in prison *till* they yield, or *as long as* they persist in their recusancy. This Thomas Brygges is called in the margin of the book *clericus juratus*, a Queen Mary priest, in all probability, who had taken the oath of supremacy on Elizabeth's accession.

And so it continues, day after day, year after year. A brick would give as good an idea of a house as a page from these registers of the proceedings of this tribunal. Extracts cannot show the pertinacity with which each individual was pursued, or give a true impression of the steady persistence of the persecution. The wonder is not that many fell away; it is that any Catholics were left—a still greater wonder that the scene should be laid in Yorkshire and Lancashire, where at least the Catholic religion has not been as completely crushed out as it was in the south of England.

If any one is curious to know how the mass of English people became Protestants, these volumes will supply the information. Yet they record but a part of the vast machinery employed to carry out Elizabeth's skilful legislation. For the north of England, even the Acts of the Ecclesiastical Commission contain but a portion of the exercise of the power of such Archbishops as Edwin Sandys or John Piers, or of such Lords President as Henry Earl of Huntingdon. This last insatiable persecutor would pass from the Ecclesiastical Commission, where the Archbishop took precedence of him, to his own council chamber, where he was supreme; and there, not content with his own staff of officers and pursuivants, he would pen despatch after despatch to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of York, that the Acts of Parliament against Catholics might be carried out by the help of the municipal organization. And these despatches the Lord Mayor and his brethren, though they seem at first not to have been anxious to do more than enough in the matter to escape blame, at all events carefully transcribed into the record of their proceedings, the House Books of the City of York. These House Books remain, and in addition to the Acts of the Ecclesiastical Commission furnish us with valuable evidence of the persecution; but as the Acts of the Council of the North do not exist, as the Sessions Books for York are very imperfect, and the Assize Rolls and Depositions of the period are lost, we are deprived of the official records of the chiefest and heaviest part of the sufferings of the Catholics in the north of England.

FATHER HOLTBY'S ACCOUNT OF THREE MARTYRS.

In his longer narrative Father Holtby says to Father Garnet, to whom he addressed it, that a friend had told him that his former letters had been intercepted, and had therefore not reached Father Garnet's hands. Happily one of these letters has escaped, and we proceed to print it from the autograph, which is preserved at Stonyhurst. The reference to it among the manuscripts is *Angl. A.* vol. i. n. 74. The portion of the paper that relates to Anthony Page does not contain anything more than Father Holtby has given in the narrative already printed; but the accounts of Joseph Lampton and Edward Waterson are not to be found elsewhere. They constitute an important addition to the scanty knowledge respecting them that reached Bishop Challoner.

FATHER HOLTBY'S ACCOUNT OF THREE MARTYRS.

From the original manuscript at Stonyhurst College.[1]

Jesu, have mercy upon me.

THIS year, being the year of our Lord 1593, upon the 1st of February at night, until the next day at nine of the clock, being Candlemas day, there was a general search made for Catholics all over Yorkshire, Richmondshire, Cleveland, the Bishopric of Durham, and Northumberland, wherein all the Justices of Peace and others of authority, with such as favoured the heretics' faction, together with the ministers themselves, did flock together, entering the houses of the Catholics and all such as were suspected to favour their cause, in [so] great numbers that it is hard to say how many were abroad that night in searching. For there came to some houses above an hundred or seven score persons to search. Yet I could not perceive that it had any great effect, save that a few laymen were taken in sundry places, and one only priest called Anthony Page was apprehended in a conveyance [*i.e.* hiding-place] made in the bottom of a haystack; and myself with my brother John escaped very narrowly. They got beads and books in divers places, and many [were] forced to forsake their houses to escape the danger; yet did they also seek [*i.e.* search] the grounds and woods in many places.

The like search was made again, all over the Bishopric, beginning upon Thursday before St. Matthias' day, con-

[1] *Endorsed*—"The apprehension of Mr. Page, priest, 1593, and the martyrdom of Mr. Lampton and Waterson, priests, 1592." *Scripsisse videtur P. Richardus Holthy, Soc. Jesu.* Note by Father Christopher Grene.

tinuing all Friday, Saturday, until Sunday, which was Shrove Sunday.[1] And the search was principally for Catholics' armour; but under pretence of armour they searched for other matters, for in this search were some Catholic laymen taken.

At the Assizes in Lent was Mr. Page arraigned and condemned, but not as yet executed.[2]

The gentleman of the house where he was taken, called William Thwing, a schismatic, who was taken in York as being privy unto the priest's being in his house, though he were not at home at the same time, was called unto the bar and acquit by the jury; for his sister came in, and of her own accord did acknowledge that she alone had brought him into the house, her brother knowing nothing of the matter. So she also was condemned and put then in prison, but none executed as yet.

Great speeches of this Parliament with us and all put in fear what shall be enacted for the greater oppression of Catholics. God hold His holy Hand over us.

About Midsummer in the year 1592 Mr. Joseph Lampton and Mr. Edward Waterson, priests, coming from beyond the seas into England, and being arraigned in Northumberland, were taken in Newcastle upon Tyne. The one by one Christopher Lewin, the town clerk of the town, who meeting Mr. Lampton in the town, and suspecting him to be a stranger, took occasion to examine him. The other going unto the Mayor to seek for a passport to pass by water unto London, but there being examined what he was—both of them by their examinations being suspected and taken for priests, were committed first unto Mr. Anderson's house, during which Mr. Waterson was carried unto Toby Matthew [then Dean of Durham] to be examined again, and afterwards both were committed

[1] Shrove Sunday, that is Quinquagesima, in 159$\frac{2}{3}$ Old Style fell on the 25th of February.

[2] As we have already seen, *supra*, pp. 139—143, he suffered April 20, 1593.

to prison in the Newgate, the prison of felons of the town, and there remained close prisoners in several places until the next assizes, which were a little before Lammas [August 1].

In the assizes there were present the Lord President [the Earl of Huntingdon] with the Dean of Durham, the Mayor and his brethren; and Clinch and Snagg were judges, sitting in the town chamber, where all matters concerning the town were wont to be heard. The priests, therefore being brought out of the prison, were brought unto the bar. There the Clerk of the Court read their indictment in this form and to this effect, that they, being native Englishmen born and subjects of her Majesty, departed the realm, and in the parts beyond the seas or in the Seminaries of Rome or Rheims, were there made priests by the authority of the Bishop of Rome; and so being returned and made residents here, not reforming themselves, and contrary to a statute made *anno* 27° *Reginæ Elizabethæ*. Whereupon they concluded that they were guilty of high treason. The effect of which statute is that within the space of three days of their arrival they should repair unto the next Justice of Peace, and there conform themselves, and take the oath of supremacy. The statute being explicated more at large by the Queen's Attorney, who also urged their own confession or further evidence that they were priests, as before. And hereupon a jury was impanelled to try whether they were guilty or not, according unto the form of the law; where it was to be noted that some of the jury required the statute book, that they might proceed the more assuredly, and it was answered by Snagg that the law was clear enough, and therefore they needed not the statute book. So the jury found them guilty. In the meantime the Dean used some speeches unto the priests: as that he demanded first of Waterson of the cause of his going over; when he answered that he was pressed to go forth a-roaming in one of the

Queen's ships. To whom they demanded if the Queen did send any abroad to steal. And he said that he could not tell what they called stealing, but that they were sent to take what they could get of the King of Spain's subjects. Whereupon they said that he was a naughty fellow, and deserved no favour. Moreover he said that upon remorse of conscience he departed from his company and went unto the Seminary.

And then the Dean asked Mr. Lampton of his bringing up and profession. He answered that he was a Catholic, and held the Roman religion. Then he was asked what was Catholic; and he pausing something, the Dean prevented his answer, saying that *Catholicum* was that [which] was *ubique, semper et ab omnibus*, and that they had the Catholic religion. "Or else tell me," saith he, "any part of our faith that is not Catholic." Whereunto he answered that their doctrine of justification and free will was not Catholic, the which doctrine the Dean went about to prove that it was taught by the Apostles and afterwards continued, and after went to other questions.

The jury, having given their verdict, pronounced them guilty, whereupon the Judge gave sentence and condemned them to death. And then they offered them conference, saying that in conference they might see more than you could see in Bellarmine; but they answered that they did not doubt of any point in their religion. So they were sent back unto the prison again, the Judge giving charge unto the Sheriff to look surely unto them, "for," saith he, "they be great traitors."

This was the Thursday. Upon Saturday was the execution expected, but it was deferred until Monday after,[1] that

[1] Bishop Challoner gives for the date of Joseph Lampton's martyrdom July 27, 1593. The year is plainly erroneous, for this account was written by Father Holtby before the martyrdom of Anthony Page, which was in the April of that year. Challoner places the death of Joseph Lampton after, instead of before, those of Edward Waterson and Anthony Page. The day assigned by him is also doubtful, for July 27 in 1592 was a Thursday, and in 1593 a Friday.

the assembly of people might be avoided. In the meantime they say that Mr. Lampton's uncle lost his service because he spake unto him.

The President's man, and many others, came to see him in prison, and were very desirous to speak to him at the window of the prison, and to have some token of him, insomuch that he said they were some trouble unto him, because he was now to prepare himself towards his end. Wherefore in the end he shut the window, that he might with more quietness give himself to prayer.

The Sunday at night he spake unto Mr. Waterson, saying, "Brother, let us be merry, for the morning I hope we shall have a heavenly breakfast;" which words a maid that heard him spoke openly with an exclamation the next morning before the people, when he was upon the ladder ready to be executed.

Early in the morning the Sheriff came unto the prison and called for Mr. Lampton alone, to carry him to his execution; who, being not yet risen, got up quickly and desired a little time to bestow in prayer, wherein he spent about the space of an hour. Then coming forth he was laid upon the hurdle, and so carried to the place of execution before sunrise. Then, taken off the hurdle, he came to the foot of the ladder, and kneeling upon the lowest step he made the sign of the Cross upon it and kissed it, and after, made his prayer more than a quarter of an hour. Then, going up the ladder, he turned his face toward the people and made the sign of the Cross upon him, and holding his hands joined before his breast offered to speak. But one bade him hold his peace until the Sheriff did bid him. Wherefore he stood still, in the same manner, for a quarter of an hour, his eyes shut, as though he were in meditation. And in the end, lifting up his eyes and looking aside, he first cast his eyes upon the kettle of water that was in heating, and after upon the butcher's board whereupon he was to be cut, and with a smiling

countenance turned his eyes from them again and closed his eyes as before.

Then the Sheriff coming towards the gallows, the hangman began to ask "all the world forgiveness, and you that I must hang." Then Mr. Lampton began to speak, saying that he asked all the world forgiveness, and especially Almighty God, whom he had most offended. "Good people," saith he, "they persuade you that we are sent in for invasion or rebellion against our Prince, but I have protested, and now at my death I do protest, that I was not sent in for any other cause but only for the safety of souls." To whom one asked if he had not persuaded any, and he answered that he had not. And he added, moreover, that if he were beyond the sea again, and knew as much as he knew now, that he would willingly come in and offer his life for the least iota of the Catholic Roman faith. As touching his religion, he said he was a Catholic, and for his profession he was a priest, and he thanked God that he was called to that estate to die for it. Then one bade him ask the Queen forgiveness, and he said he had not offended her. "Yes," saith he, "you have offended her, in denying before Mr. Dean that she was supreme head of the Church." To whom he said that the question was never asked him, and now he was not to make answer unto it. Then desiring all Catholics, our Blessed Lady, and all the saints of heaven to pray for him that his soul might be saved, the rope being put about his neck he was turned off the ladder, and being dead, as they thought, was cut down. Yet the hangman was so long in doing after he was cut down, that he began to revive and to move both his hands and legs.

When he came to be quartered, there was not a butcher in the town to be gotten that would take the matter in hand, until an old fellow, a Frenchman and surgeon, was gotten, who, under pretence to see his anatomy, cut him and embowelled him, and instructed the hangman to quarter him. This hangman, being in prison with Mr.

Waterson, and condemned for felony at the same assizes, reported unto Mr. Waterson and divers others, that a night or two before Mr. Lampton's execution, sitting late at night in the prison window to watch the Sheriff's coming, who used to come every night to search the prison and to see if all were right about the condemned persons; yet coming down from the window, and turning himself towards the chamber where he was, he saw all the chamber full of lights, and at one side of the chamber he saw a table covered with white, and two links or torches standing thereupon, and one whom he thought he had seen standing before the table all clad in white, which vision as the Sheriff came near unto the chamber withdrew itself towards one corner of the chamber, and so at the entrance of the Sheriff vanished away. After the execution of Mr. Lampton, the Sheriff brought one of his quarters into the prison to Mr. Waterson, with intent as it seemed to terrify him, that [by] fear of the like execution he might be moved to relent from his confession; but Mr. Waterson kneeling down, reverently kissed his fellow's quarter, which being contrary to the Sheriff's expectation, he took the quarter and departed away.

Now Mr. Waterson's execution was deferred until the Monday next after the Epiphany the year following, during which delay there happened divers accidents. For he being perceived to be a more simple man was reprieved for a time in hope to overcome his constancy: whereupon they sent divers ministers and preachers unto him in prison, and carried him to hear sermons at three several times, where he used himself in such sort that all did perceive that he did not seem to consent unto anything prejudicial to his faith or profession. And one time the minister Boulseworthe brought him an heretical book to read, openly affirming that it would abide all touches [tests], and leaving the book with him, he committed it unto Vulcan, to try if it might abide the touch of fire, but it was quickly consumed therewith.

At his coming in they were both meanly apparelled, and their friends supposing it not decent for their vocation to be arraigned in such apparel, caused some apparel to be made more convenient for them, wherein they were arraigned. But Mr. Lampton being executed, soon after they took Mr. Waterson's apparel from him and clad him again with his old torn clothes he brought with him, neither would they suffer him to have any other.

After this, finding on a night through negligence the door left open, he made his escape out of prison. But being within two or three days after taken again, he was committed unto the same prison again, into a lower place, under a new but more cruel gaoler; for the former was displaced and imprisoned as consenting unto his escape, though he were altogether ignorant of the same.

After which time he was used most cruelly, being not only laden with irons but also deprived of all other comforts, so that from St. Luke's day [October 18] until his execution [January 8] he never came in bed, enduring the cold of winter without fire and very slenderly apparelled, as it appeared at his execution, and almost consumed with continual famine, insomuch that he that had seen him before would scarcely have known him; his colour was so far changed and his substance wasted during this his second imprisonment. He was continually solicited with the access of preachers and ministers, who always vexed him until his death. Wherefore perceiving his constancy to be invincible, a writ came from the President or Council that he should be executed the Wednesday after New Year's day, but it was deferred until Monday after.[1] Then early, about four of the clock, the Sheriff came and called him to prepare himself towards execution, and he demanded some time because he said he was not yet ready, so the Sheriff departed until it was almost six o'clock, and then returned again to carry him to the place

[1] This Monday after the Epiphany in 15$\frac{8}{9}$ was the 8th of January. Bishop Challoner says Jan. 7.

of execution. And being laid upon the hurdle, the horse was set forward, but having passed forth about half a dozen paces the horse stood still and would not for anything they could do go any further, though they struck and pulled him almost for the space of a quarter of an hour. Wherefore they were forced to take another horse of a collier that carried coals, who casting off his sack of coals put his horse to the hurdle, saying that he would warrant them that his horse would carry him, if it were as far as Bernacastle.[1] Then setting one upon the horse they drew forward the hurdle until they came within the space of forty foot of the place of execution, where the other horse also stayed and could go no further, though he were plunged until the ropes burst in sunder. The which seemed a wonder unto those that were present, insomuch that an heretic being present, considering that he was twice stayed in this sort, said that this would be noted of some for a monument.

So they took him off the hurdle and he went on foot the rest of his journey towards the gallows. There the minister Bamforthe began to persuade him to change his religion, and, as he said, "to come out of Babylon." To whom he answered that he came not now to dispute, but to offer his life for the Catholic faith; and protested unto the people that he came not into England for any treason, neither by compulsion of any, as it was objected, but only for the saving of souls. "A wise guide!" saith the minister.

Then the minister began to accuse him before the people of unreverent speeches used against his parents, avouching that he said he would kill his father. But he answered that he said only that if his father or brother or dearest friend should persuade him from the Catholic faith, that he would rather stretch out his hand to execute them than he would yield unto their persuasion: where also he cleared his first keeper for being anything privy to his escape.

[1] Barnard Castle or Castle Barnard, twenty-six miles south-west of Durham.

He said also that if he were again beyond the seas, that he would most willingly come into the country to yield his life for the same cause he now suffered for. Then Bamforthe willed him to desire the people to pray for him, and he answered that they and he were not of one religion, but he desired all Catholics to pray for him, and our Blessed Lady and all the company of heaven to make intercession for him. "If thou wilt not pray with us," saith Bamforthe, "at the least pray that if we be not in the right, we may be converted; and that if thou be wrong, we may correct thee." Whereunto he said that he doubted nothing of his faith.

At last he willed him to ask the Queen forgiveness, and he said he had not offended her. "Yes," saith the minister, "thou hast, contrary unto her law, reconciled some since thy coming in." And he said that they were but few, and he wished that he had done more good, for that was his function.

Then going up the ladder, and the rope being put about his neck, Bamforthe willed him to repent his faith, and to cast off good works and all intercession whatsoever, and believe only to be saved by the merits of Christ His Passion. Whereunto he answered that good works were necessary to salvation, but as for his own, he cast them down at Christ His feet, hoping to be saved wholly by His Passion, and desired our Blessed Lady and all the blessed saints in heaven to pray for him. So having made the sign of the Cross upon him, they turned the ladder, and he so yielded his soul to God. After being dead he was cut down, and his body bowelled and quartered.

When he was to have the halter to be put about his neck, he loosed his shirtband and cast it down lest it should hinder him. Whereupon the minister said, "Look who taketh up that;" being afraid lest some should keep it for a relic: and so one of the sergeants took it up and tied it about his staff or halbert.

IV.

NOTES BY A PRISONER IN OUSEBRIDGE KIDCOTE.

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BOUND up in the sixth volume of the Stonyhurst collection of manuscripts known as *Angl. A.* are four leaves, which are paged in Father Grene's hand from 41 to 48. They once formed part of one of his volumes of *Collectanea*, and judging by the references in his *M* to the persons named in this paper, and marked in red chalk, as Father Grene was accustomed to mark what he copied, we may assume that they formerly belonged to his volume *F*. The first page bears the endorsement, "By William Hutton, an ancient Catholic prisoner upon Ousebridge." No paper could better deserve to follow the Narratives of Father Holtby, for not merely does it treat of persecutions in the same part of England that they have described, but the date prefixed to it is the same as theirs.

This William Hutton was a draper, whose house was in Christ's parish, in the city of York. His name occurs frequently in the city "Housebooks," which are the records of the proceedings of the Lord Mayor's Court. By way of introduction to Hutton's notes we will give copious extracts from these "Housebooks." It must not be forgotten that the Lord President and the members of his Council were the chief agents in the more severe measures; and that besides there was the Ecclesiastical Commission, and of course the Courts of Assize and the Sessions. Lengthy, therefore, though these extracts from the York Housebooks are, they represent but a very small portion, and that the less severe part, of the persecution to which these poor Catholics were subjected.

We begin with a sharp letter, written in the Queen's name by the Council of the North, showing that the Lord Mayor and

his brethren of the Corporation were not eager to persecute, and that they only acted under pressure.

"To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Justices of our Peace within our city of York and county of the same, and to every of them.

"By the Queen.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas by sundry and former commissions heretofore to you addressed, we willed and commanded you to certify unto our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin the Earl of Huntingdon, President of our Council in these parts, what persons within your several limits and divisions, misliking the doctrine now taught and the religion now established, did absent themselves from the church, common prayer, and services; in the execution of which our commissions, although some of you have showed yourselves very careful and diligent, yet others have been remiss, careless, and negligent, for either some of you have made no certificate at all, or else some of you have certified the names of such of the poorest and simplest sorts of our subjects to their trouble, as indeed upon their appearance before us we found to be most tractable, humble, obedient, and willing to conform themselves. But of some other notorious, known, and disaffected persons of greater wealth, estimation, and calling, you have certified nothing at all, but either winked at them or otherwise omitted and with silence passed them over, or else for favour, friendship, kindred, or some other respect, forborne to present their names; and for that we be credibly informed the number of such as do forbear to come to the church do daily increase, and that some of you yourselves and your families give not that example in coming to the church that you ought to do, contrary to some of your earnest promises made to our President in that behalf. We therefore require you from henceforth that you and your families do better and more often resort and frequent the church, common prayer, and communion than you have done, so as by your good example going before, others may be moved to follow. And for that we be also given to understand that of late some of no mean calling have withdrawn them-

selves, and will not come to the church, and others of like estate have longer absented themselves, and will by no gentle means be moved, entreated, or persuaded thereunto, whereby they do not only give great suspicion of their disloyalty, but also give great occasion of offence to others, and as we be informed is one great cause whereby the number of such disloyal persons do daily increase, we therefore straitly [charge] and command you by virtue hereof, that on this side and before the fifteenth day of December next, you do endeavour yourselves by all such ways and means as to your wisdoms and discretions shall seem good, to understand the names, qualities, and degrees of every such person and persons within your several limits and divisions, as do absent themselves from the church, common prayer, and sacraments, whether he be knight, justice of peace, squire, gentleman, freeholder, or other, and the cause of his or their abstaining themselves, and how long they or any of them have so done. And the same to certify to our said cousin, viz., the names, qualities, and degrees of every such person; and that you then certify also whom you know of your own knowledge to be either culpable in deed or vehemently suspected herein. Fail ye not in the diligent execution hereof, as you tender your duties, and will answer the contrary at your peril. Given under our signet, at our city of York, the 27th day of October, the 16th year of our reign [1573]."

Still the municipal authorities were in no hurry to assail their fellow-citizens. The letter of the Council is duly entered in their records from which we have extracted it. Nearly three years elapsed before a move was made in the Lord Mayor's Court, and that was in consequence of a communication from the Ecclesiastical Commission. After this, letters in the Queen's name follow in quick succession, and, as will be seen, no choice was left to the Lord Mayor and his brethren. At last they made their returns; and more touching returns than some of these here made, it is safe to say, have never taken legal form. The poor people were bound to tell their reasons for not coming to church, and they tell them with a very moving simplicity. "It is not the Catholic Church." "There is neither priest, altar, nor sacra-

ments." "There is not the Sacrament hung up, and other things as hath been aforetime." "There is not a priest as there ought to be." "There is not the Sacrament of the Altar." "There is neither priest nor sacrament." "Her conscience will not serve her so to do." "It would damn her soul." "She will come to the Church of God, but her conscience will not suffer her to come to this Church."

William Hutton, whom they called "a subtle sophista," was sharp enough to say that he did not go to church because he was excommunicate, but that when he was absolved he would go. His absolution in the Anglican Church Courts was an impossibility while he continued to be a good Catholic, and that he knew perfectly well.

However, the returns must tell their own tale—and a heavy tale they tell of individual suffering—as we produce them in their chronological order from the city records, where till this present time they have lain hidden. It will be perceived that the first weapon used was the fine for being absent from Church, and this is exacted by distraint; in the next place special pressure is brought to bear on the men to force their wives to conformity; then the education of the children of Catholics occupies the attention of those in authority; and lastly, the edicts affect all lodgers and servants. We have contented ourselves with the reign of Elizabeth only, but after her time, though there was less bloodshed, the efforts were not less systematic and persistent utterly to stamp out the Catholic religion from the land.

"6° *Junii*, 18° *Elizabeth*, [1576] *Edmundus Richardson, Maior*, &c.

"Forasmuch as divers disobedient persons within this city, neglecting their duties to God and the Queen's Majesty, will in nowise come to their parish churches to hear the divine service of Almighty God according to His laws and the laws of this realm: Therefore it is now agreed by these presents, that according to the form of the statute in that case provided, warrants shall be made to the churchwardens of every parish wherein any the said disobedient persons do dwell, commanding them to levy 12*d.* of the goods and chattels of every such person by way of distress

for every time that he or she, having no sufficient excuse, shall be absent from their parish church every Sunday or holiday in the time of common prayer, preaching, or other service of God. The copy of the names of which said disobedient persons sent from Mr. Dean and other the Commissioners are underwritten as followeth.

"The names of such persons as were detected in the last Inquisition after the receipt of the letters from the lords of the Privy Council—

The City of York.

Pyke parish.	*Uxor* Thomæ Wilson	
Belfry.	*Uxor* Willi. Tesymond and his family	
	Uxor Rici. Durham	
	Elena Boothe	
	Mrs. Dunwiche	
	Trystram Staynburne	
St. Martin's in Coney Street.	Anna Cooke *uxor* Ambrosii Cooke	
St. John's at Ousebridge-end.	Thomas Atkinson	
Bishophill Younger.	Mr. Teshe, gent.	
	His wife	
	Cuthbert Lynton	
	Uxor Ed. Beesley	
St. Cuthbert's.	*Uxor* Johis. Williamson	
St. Mary's in Castlegate.	Gregorie Wilkinson	Comes
	Uxor Petri Porter	
Trinity in Micklegate.	John Edwyn *et* his wife	not to
	Francis Walker nor Anne Dicconson do not receive.	the
St. Sampson's.	Thomas Wrayte	church.
	Ux. Tho. Oldcorne	
Christ's parish.	*Ux.* Doctor Vavasor	
	Ux. Rici. Hallidayes	
	Ux. Geo. Hall	
	Ux. Percivalli Geldert	
	Ux. Johis. Collyn	
	Ux. Johis. Weddell	
	Ux. Johis. Clithero	
Allhallows upon the Pavement.	*Uxor* Johis. Wildon	
	Wills. Wilkinson	
	et ux. ejus.	
St. Olave's.	*Ux.* Willi. Wood	
	Willus. Branton	
	et ux. ejus.	
Trinity.	Ffarnesseach Streket, widow.	

"Edmond Richardson, Lord Mayor of the city of York.

"To the Churchwardens of St. Michael of the Belfry and St. Wilfrid's, within the said city, greeting. Of the behalf of our sovereign lady the Queen's Majesty, I do will and command you and every of you jointly and severally that according to the late Act of Parliament, made in the first year of the reign of her Majesty, you or some of you forthwith do levy of the lands, goods, and tenements of Richard Durham, barber, William Tesymond, Heleyn Booth, [blank] Dunwiche, widow, Tristram Stanburne, and William Branton of parishes aforesaid, for every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as holidays, that the wives of the said Richard Durham and William Tesymond, Heleyn Booth, [blank] Dunwiche, Tristram Stanburne, William Branton and his wife have not come to the church, who are lately presented for the same, for every such offence 12*d.* by way of distress. And also of the behalf of our said sovereign lady the Queen, I will and command you, and every of you jointly and severally, that according to the said late Act you or some do levy as well of the lands, goods, and tenements of the said Richard Durham, William Tesymond, Heleyn Booth, [blank] Dunwiche, Tristram Stanburne, and William Branton as of the lands, goods, and tenements of all and every other person and persons within the said parishes inhabiting which do not diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to come to the said parish church upon every Sunday and other days used and ordained to be kept as holy days, and then and there do not abide orderly and soberly during the time of the common prayer, preachings, and other service of God, there to be used and ministered, but obstinately refuseth the same contrary to the true meaning, form, and effect of the said statute, for every such offence 12*d.*, by way of distress. And that the said money so by you levied may be bestowed according to the said statute. Fail ye not hereof, as well ye will answer to the contrary hereof at your perils. Given at the same city," &c. (n. 26, fol. 68*b*).

"3° *Augusti*, 18° *Elizabeth* [1576].

"*Edmundus Richardson, Maior*, &c. The Queen's Majesty's

Commission, to my Lord Mayor and his brethren directed, was now read, the tenour whereof ensueth.

"'To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor and Aldermen of our city of York and to every of them.

"'By the Queen.

"'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we understand that divers and sundry persons, as well men as women, do absent themselves from their parish churches, and will not come to the service of Almighty God, or sermons, or administration of sacraments, to the evil and perilous example of others our good loving subjects, and to the great contempt of our laws and statutes of this our realm; We, therefore, minding the speedy redress of the same, will and command you, and by virtue of this our letters authorize you, that you and every of you forthwith upon the receipt and sight hereof do take order with the curates and churchwardens of every parish within our city of York and county of the same, and do certify the names, surnames, and dwellings both of the men and women which are in that behalf offenders and how long they have so offended, before the 9th of August instant, to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, the Earl of Huntingdon, President of our Council in the north parts, and the rest of the same our Council there. Fail ye not hereof as you tender our pleasure, the good accomplishment of your duties, and as you will answer for the contrary at your perils. Given under our signet, at our said city, the 1st day of August, the eighteenth year of our reign.

"'And by her Council.'

"Upon the reading whereof, it was ordered that all the curates and churchwardens within this city shall be presently commanded to be in this place [the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge] to-morrow, at nine of the clock, and the curates and churchwardens of the Ainsty to be in like manner at the Common Hall on Monday next, at nine of the clock, for the better execution of the said commission, to present the names of the offenders in this behalf, &c."

"6° *Augusti*, 18° *Elizabeth.*

"*Edus. Richardson, Maior*, &c. Assembled in the Common Hall,

the day and year aforesaid, when and where the bills delivered in by the curates and churchwardens as well for the city as Ainsty were now perused. In the meanwhile, another the Queen's Majesty's commission was with certain articles there inclosed, presented to the hands of my Lord Mayor, the tenour whereof ensueth, viz.:

"'To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Justices of our Peace within our city of York and county of the same and to every of them.

"'By the Queen.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we be certainly informed that certain disorders contrary to the good laws and ordinances of this realm do daily arise and increase within our city and county of York to the great trouble and disquieting of our good subjects; We have thought good for the special trust we have in you to give you warning thereof, to the intent you may repress and avoid the same according to our laws and statutes and to our commission for the peace to you directed. And further, we have especially appointed you and every number of you, two at the least, to divide yourselves in several places within our city of York and the county of the same city and the liberties thereof. This, therefore, is to will and command you and by these presents to authorize you and any number of you, being so divided to two at the least, diligently to employ yourselves to and for the due executions of the articles herewith sent unto you. And that you in [your own] proper persons bring and certify your proceeding, and that [which] you shall understand therein in writing to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of our Council in the north parts, and the rest of our said Council to York, the 22nd of September next. Fail ye not hereof, as we specially trust you, and as ye will answer for the contrary. Given under our signet, at our city of York, the 5th day of August, the eighteenth year of our reign.

"'And by her Council.'

"'Articles to be executed by the Justices of the Peace in the city of York and of the county of the same city and the liberties thereof.

"'First to call before them the curates and churchwardens of every parish in the city of York and the county of the same city and liberties thereof, and to take their oaths to make true presentment and certificate unto you at such day and place as ye shall appoint of the names and surnames and dwelling places of every man and woman which do absent themselves or not resort upon the Sabbath days or other holy or festival days to divine service or to sermons or administration of sacraments, and how long they have absented them or any of them, from the same or any of them.

"'Also to inquire, by four men to be sworn of every parish, by all the means you can of all confederacies, conspiracies, assemblies, and meetings of such as be suspected persons, and of the occasions and causes of their meetings and assemblies. And of such as wander from place to place to teach or instruct any in any point of religion contrary to the laws and ordinances of this realm. And of all those that receive, harbour, cherish, or relieve them, or any of them, and to present the same as is aforesaid.

"'Also to inquire of all spreaders of false news and rumours touching the Queen's Majesty, the nobles or bishops of this realm, or other matter touching the state of the realm or any part thereof.

"'Also to take order as much as you conveniently may for the due executions of the statute for the relief of the poor and punishment of rogues and vagabonds, and for the furtherance of the having of stocks in convenient places, for to set such poor on labour as may conveniently work. And touching the erecting of houses of correction for such as refuse to work or to do their work as they ought to do.

"'Also to take order for repairing or making of highways and bridges according to the laws of this realm. And if any sum be appointed for these purposes, to see the same procured and the same bestowed as that was appointed.

"'Also to inquire of them that either refuse to pay their sums assessed for the relief of the poor, for the maintenance of stocks to set them on work, or for the repairs or making of highways and bridges, and either use them sharply for the same as the same

shall require, or to certify to the Lord President and others of the Queen's Majesty's Council in the north parts, their names with the places of their dwellings, with also all the certainty of every of their offences.'

"'Also to take away all needless alehouses and specially such as be placed outside of towns or upon moors or wastes, and to see punishment for unlawful games, and that artillery be used.

"'Also to see the watches kept and hue and cry to be made as appertaineth.

"'*Item* that you do take order that from henceforth no man carry about with him or use any long staves above the length of eight feet, nor any pikes in any staves above two inches long.

"'Also that ye shall name and appoint four sufficient men for the county of our city of York meet to be high constables, and to present their names and dwelling-places to the Lord President and said Council, the 21st of September next, to the intent the Lord President and Council may appoint two of them to serve as high constables in our said county of our city of York.'"

"8° *Augusti*, 18° *Elizabeth.*

"*Edus. Richardson, Maior*, &c. Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year aforesaid, when and where the Queen's Majesty's late commission, dated the 5th of August instant, with certain articles there inclosed, was now read to these presents; which commission and articles are entered word by word on the leaf next before.

"And as touching the due execution of the said commission and articles it was agreed by the said Lord Mayor and aldermen as followeth. First, the said Lord Mayor and aldermen to divide themselves for the city, viz., into their several wards, at their places accustomed, and to call before them there as well the curates and churchwardens, as four men of every parish, to be duly sworn and charged with due execution thereof. And Monkeward and Walmegateward to be on Monday next, at eight of the clock before noon, and Bothomeward and Myklithward at one of the clock at afternoon of the same day. And they to bring in with

them the names of all brewers and tipplers within their several parishes, and precepts to be made accordingly.

"And the like order for the Ainsty to be executed on Wednesday next, at eight of the clock before noon, at the Common Hall, and precepts to be made forth accordingly" (fol. 77).

"The names of the curates, churchwardens, four men, &c., of the city of York and county of the same, sworn and charged with the execution of the said commission and articles, dated the 5th of August instant, as followeth:

"WALMEGATEWARD.

"*St. Margaret's and Peter in the Wall.*

Thomas Dawson, Curate.
George Jackson, } Guards, &c. &c.
Ambrose Gray, }

"*Mem.* that Henry Lee, a churchwarden of St. Mary's in Castlegate, refuseth to be sworn" (fol. 80).

"'To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor and Aldermen of our city of York and to every of them.

"'By the Queen.

"'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas at the Parliament, holden at Westminster in the first year of our reign, it was amongst other things enacted that all persons within this our realm, or in any other our dominions, should diligently and faithfully (having no lawful let or reasonable excuse to be absent) endeavour themselves to resort to the parish church or chapel accustomed upon every Sunday or other days ordained or used to be kept as holy days, there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the common prayers, preachings, or other service of God ministered within the same, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church; and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence 12*d.*, to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish where such offence shall be committed to the use of the poor of the same

parish, as by the same Act amongst other things more at large appeareth: Forasmuch as we understand that you, the Mayor and aldermen, have since the making of the said Act been remiss and negligent in the execution thereof, so as by your slackness therein many our subjects, little regarding their duties to Almighty God and their obedience, have, to the evil and perilous example of many others, absented themselves from their parish church, and do obstinately refuse to come to hear the divine service or sermons, or to the receiving of the sacraments as they ought to do; We minding, therefore, the speedy reformation thereof, have thought good to put you in remembrance of your office and duties therein, and to be from henceforth more careful and diligent in the better execution of the said statute and law than heretofore you have been. And, therefore, we will and by virtue of these our letters do charge and command you that ye without delay, upon the receipt and sight hereof, do take order with the churchwardens of every parish to see that the said Act and statute be severely and sharply executed according to the tenour and true meaning thereof, without any partiality, favour, and affection to be showed or used in that behalf to any of the wilful offenders or to their aiders or favourers in that their evil doings. Fail ye not hereof, as we specially trust you, and as you will answer for the contrary at your utmost peril. Given under our signet at our city of York, the 14th day of August, the eighteenth year of our reign.

"'And by her Council.'

"22° *Augusti*, 18° *Elizabeth*.

"*Edus. Richardson, Maior*, &c. Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year above said, when and where for due execution of the Queen's Majesty's late commission against certain persons absenting themselves from the parish church service and sermons, &c.: It is now agreed by these presents that precepts shall be forthwith made and directed to the churchwardens of every parish of the city and Ainsty against all the offenders in the premises lately presented, &c., to levy 12*d.* by way of distress of every such offender of every offence, commanding them also thereby to make certificate of

their doings therein to my Lord Mayor and aldermen forthwith. And the said precepts to be made in this form following, viz. :

"Edmond Richardson, Lord Mayor [&c., to the Churchwardens of St. Olave's, against William Wood and George Gillot]."

"27° *Augusti*, 18° *Elizabeth.*

"*Edus. Richardson, Maior, Willus. Birnand*,[1] *Recordator*, &c. Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year above said, when and where William Bowman, who was lately presented for not coming to his parish church, &c., personally appeared before these presents. And for so much as he being now moved to come to his parish church, will not be thereunto persuaded, but obstinately refuseth so to do : Therefore it is now agreed by these presents that the churchwardens of his parish, with aid of the constables there, shall forthwith go to his house and take his distress. And if the said Bowman shall chance to make any rescue or resistance, then he to be apprehended immediately and committed to ward during my Lord Mayor's pleasure.

"And further, it is agreed by these presents that William Hutton of Christ's parish, Thomas Wood of St. Cuthbert's parish, John Wood of St. Maurice's parish, Richard Braferton of St. Dionys' parish, Gregory Wilkinson of the parish of St. Mary in Castlegate, Thomas Pearson of St. Margaret's parish, John Edwyn of Trinity parish in Micklegate, and all other men being like offenders, shall be called in and persuaded to come to their several parish churches, and upon their refusal to be used in like order" (fol. 83).

"12° *Octobris*, 18° *Elizabeth.*

"*Edus. Richardson, Maior*, &c. Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year above said, when and where there was a commission from the Queen's Majesty and her Council established in the north parts, directed to the Mayor and aldermen of this city of York, bearing date the 6th day of October, in this present eighteenth year of the reign of

[1] This William Birnand, Recorder of York, was the father of Grace Lady Babthorpe, of whom we have such frequent mention.

our said sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, the tenour whereof followeth word by word:

"'To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor and Aldermen of our city of York, and to every of them.

"'By the Queen.

"'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Where[as] of late our President and Council in the north parts received from you certain certificates of persons that refuse to come to service and sermons in their parish churches or usual chapels within our city of York and the county and liberties of the same, yet for that some imperfections were in your said certificates, in that we are desirous to know the certain estates, degrees, livings, arts, or wealth of the same persons, which is omitted in your said certificates; and for that some have presented generally "all is well," and no default amongst them or in their parishes; and also it should seem that many known to be offenders in this first article be omitted and not presented at all: Therefore we have thought good eft-soon to will and require you and every of you in your several divisions, without making any stir or assembly in the country, that you call before you only such few persons of such sundry parishes as you think convenient, and to learn by such convenient means as you can the names, qualities, wealth, and degrees of all such persons as do utterly refuse coming to the church, and also the cause of their absence from the same; and likewise to certify your own knowledge of any person or persons offending therein, and of your doings in the premises, to send the certificates perfectly in writing to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, the Earl of Huntingdon, President of our said Council in the north parts, and in his absence to the Vice-President and the rest of our said Council in the north parts, so shortly as you conveniently may, and at the furthest the 23rd day of November next. Fail ye not hereof, as you tender our pleasure, and as we especially trust you. Given under our signet at our city of York, the 6th day of October, the eighteenth year of our reign.

"'And by her Council'" (fol. 87 *b*).

"7° *Novembris*, 18° *Elizabeth* [1576].

"*Radus. Hall, Maior*, &c. My Lord President and others are behind with their benevolences to the poor. . . .

"And now it was agreed by these presents that the Lord Mayor and aldermen shall upon Monday next sit upon the last commission concerning persons absenting themselves from the church, and that the persons lately offending therein shall be called before the Lord Mayor and wardens in their several wards at their places accustomed. And to begin first with Walmegate-ward the said Monday by nine of the clock before noon, and so forth every ward at appointment of my Lord Mayor" (fol. 95).

"20° *Novembris*, 19° *Elizabeth* [1576].

"*Radus. Hall, Maior*, &c. Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year above said, when and where the fines of the Wardmote Court of Miklythward were assessed by the said Lord Mayor and aldermen.

"And now the examinations of certain persons utterly refusing to come to the church, lately taken before the Lord Mayor and aldermen in their several wards by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's late commission, were now read before them and perused.

"And further, it was agreed by the said Lord Mayor and aldermen that certificate shall be forthwith thereof made to the Lord President, according to the said commission, the which certificate hereafter followeth word by word:

"'To the right honourable the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the Queen's Majesty's honourable Council in the north parts.

"'Pleaseth it your honour to be advertised that by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's commission, given under her Grace's signet at her Highness' city of York, the 6th day of October, in the eighteenth year of her Highness' most noble reign, to us the Mayor and aldermen of her Grace's said city of York addressed, we the said Mayor and aldermen, and every of us in our several divisions, without making any stir or assembly in the country, have called before us only such few persons of such sundry parishes as we thought convenient, and have learned by such

convenient means as we could the names, qualities, wealth, and degrees of all such persons as do utterly refuse coming to the church, and also the cause of their absence from the same. And likewise we do certify your honour our own knowledge of the person and persons offending therein as followeth.

"'WALMEGATE WARD.

Allhallows on the Pavement. "'Elizabeth Wilkinson, wife of William Wilkinson, milner [*i.e.* miller], sayeth she cometh not to the church because there is neither priest, altar, nor Sacrifice.

"'The said William Wilkinson is worth in clear goods 40*s.* as we think.

"'Catherine Wildon, wife of John Wildon, tailor, sayeth she cometh not to the church because there is neither altar nor Sacrifice.

"'The same John Wildon is worth in clear goods 66*s.* 8*d.* as we think.

Peter-lane Little. "'Lucy Plowman, wife of William Plowman, milner, sayeth she cometh not to the church because she liketh not of the priest nor of the sacrament.

"'The same William Plowman is worth in clear goods 40*s.* as we think.

Crux parish. "'William Bowman, locksmith, sayeth he refuseth to come to the church because he thinketh it is not the Catholic Church, for there is neither priest, altar, nor sacraments, and sayeth that he is worth in clear goods not above 40*s.*, and so we think.

"'Isabel Bowman, wife of the said William Bowman, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for her conscience will not serve her, because there is not the Sacrament hung up and other things as hath been aforetime. And further, she sayeth that she doth not believe that such words as the priest readeth are true.

"'Margaret Taylor [in Castro, *in margin in a*

later hand], wife of Thomas Taylor, tailor, sayeth she cometh not to the church, because there is not a priest as there ought to be, and also that there is not the Sacrament of the Altar.

"'The same Thomas Taylor sayeth his substance is very small and liveth on his credit, and so we think. He is a very poor man, and little worth of his own goods.

"'Elizabeth Portar [recessit, *in marg.*], widow, sayeth she cometh not to the church because that the service there is not as it ought to be, nor as it hath been heretofore. And she sayeth she is a poor woman and of no substance, but we think her worth in clear goods 40*s.*

"'Isabel Addewell [recessit, *in marg.*], widow, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her, and that she hath little or nothing to live upon, and so we think.

St. Dionys' parish. "'Agnes Wiggan, widow, sayeth she cometh not to the church, because there is neither priest nor Sacrament. She is nothing worth, as we think.

"'Richard Brafferton, baker, who was lately presented for not coming to the church, is gone forth of this city, to what place we know not.

St. Mary's in Castlegate. "'Isabel Portar [in prisona, *in marg.*], wife of Peter Portar, tailor, sayeth that she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her, for things are not in the church as it hath been aforetime in her forefathers' days.

"'The same Peter Portar sayeth he hath lands of the yearly value of 20*s.*, and he is worth in clear goods 66*s.* 8*d.* as we think.

"'Gregory Wilkinson, felt-maker, sayeth he cometh not to the church because his conscience will not serve him so to do, for he will remain in the faith that he was baptized in. And as for his wealth, he sayeth he is not worth 2*d.* if every man

had his own. And we think his saying therein to be true.

"'Agnes Wilkinson, wife of the said Gregory, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her so to do, for she will remain in the faith that she was baptized in.

"'Susan Allanson [recessit, *in marg.*], single woman, servant to the said Gregory Wilkinson, sayeth she hath not come to the church nor received at Easter last, for she was sick; but she sayeth she must go this day, being the 19th of November instant, to the service of one Mr. St. Quintin, dwelling in the country, who married Mrs. Hussey, but she sayeth she is willing to go to the church.

St. Margaret's parish. "'Thomas Pearson, weaver, sayeth he cometh not to the church for his conscience will not serve him, because there lacketh the Sacrament, the priest, and the altar; and sayeth he is worth in clear goods 20*s.*, and so we think: which Thomas is now in ward.

"'MONKEWARDE.

Christ's parish. "'Dorothy Vavasour, wife of Thomas Vavasour, doctor of physic, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her so to do, for she sayeth she will remain in the faith that she was baptized in. And as for the substance of the same Thomas, we think it little or nothing worth, and he hath no lands to our knowledge.

"'Frances Hall, wife of George Hall, draper, sayeth she cometh not to the church because she is persuaded otherwise to do, and believeth in the faith she was baptized in.

"'The same George sayeth he hath lands to the yearly value of 20*s.*, and in clear goods to our estimation 66*s.* 8*d.*

"'William Hutton, draper, sayeth he cometh not to the church because he hath been excommunicate and is not yet absolved, but when he is absolved he will come. And sayeth he hath small substance, but useth buying of barley and maketh it into malt, and borroweth money for the same; yet we think he is in clear goods 40*s.*, and lands he hath not as we suppose.

"'Mary Hutton, wife to the said William Hutton, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her so to do.

"'Janet Geldart [in prisona, *in marg.*], wife of Percival Geldart, butcher, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her so to do, and sayeth there can be no greater cause for the same than her conscience.

"'The same Percival sayeth he oweth as much as he hath, yet he is in clear goods 40*s.* as we think.

"'Janet Geldart, wife of Lancelot Geldart, butcher, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for her conscience will not serve her so to do. And the same Lancelot hath small substance or none to our knowledge.

"'Emma Halliday, wife of Richard Halliday, girdler, cometh not to the church, for what cause we cannot learn, because she is a rover abroad in the country, and cannot be had. And as for the substance of the same Richard, we think him worth little or nothing.

"'Agnes Weddell [in prisona, *in marg.*], wife of John Weddell, younger, butcher, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for her conscience will not serve her, because there is neither altar, priest, nor Sacrifice.

"'The same John sayeth that he is worth in clear goods 3*l.*, and so we think.

"'Alice Cowling, wife of John Cowling, peny-

man, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her.

"'The same John Cowling sayeth he is a poor man and hath no substance, and so we think.

"'Jane West [recessit, *in marg.*], single woman, servant to George Hall, draper, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for she thinketh it is not the right church; and that if she should come there it would damn her soul.

"'Anne Boyes, single woman, servant to the said George Hall, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for her conscience will not serve her, because there is neither altar, Sacrifice, nor true priest.

"'Anne Kitchenman, wife to Christopher Kitchenman, carpenter, cometh not to the church, for what cause we cannot learn, for she is now great with child, and could not come before us. And as for his substance, we think him worth in clear goods 20*s.*

"'Margaret Clitherow [in prisona, *in marg.*], wife of John Clitherow, butcher, cometh not to the church, for what cause we cannot learn, for she is now great with child, and could not come before us.

"'The same John sayeth he is worth in clear goods 6*l.*, and so we think.

"'Janet Bachelar, wife of William Bachelar, butcher, cometh not to the church, for what cause we know not, but she is now sick, and came not before us. And as for his substance, we think him worth in clear goods 6*l.*

"'Agnes Chambers [recessit, *in marg.*], wife of John Chambers, inn-holder, cometh not to the church, for what cause we know not, because she could not be had, for she and her husband are aboutwards to go to Newcastle. And as for his substance, we think him worth little or nothing.

"'Janet Smythes [mortua, *in marg.*], wife of George Smythes, butcher, who hath been heretofore presented for not coming to the church, sayeth that she now cometh to the church, and so she is willing to do still.

"'Alice Rock, wife of Thomas Rock, butcher, who hath been heretofore presented for not coming to the church, sayeth that she now cometh to the church, and so she is willing to do still.

St. Maurice parish. "'John Wood, tailor, cometh not to the church, for what cause we know not, for he cannot be had, and as for his substance, he is worth little or nothing.

St. Sampson parish. "'Elizabeth Langton, wife of Thomas Langton, currier, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for her heart and conscience will not serve her so to do.

"'The same Thomas sayeth he hath small substance, yet we think him worth in clear goods 20*s.*

"'Elizabeth Awdecorne [Oldcorne], wife of John Awdecorne, tiler, cometh not to the church, because she sayeth she is certified in her conscience otherwise, and that she should displease God if she should do otherwise.

"'The same John sayeth he is worth in clear goods 3*l.*, and so we think.

"'Alice Awdecorne [her husband in prison, *in marg.*], wife of Thomas Awdecorne, tiler, sayeth she cometh not to the church because she is otherwise persuaded in her conscience.

"'The same Thomas is in the castle for the like offence, and as for his substance, we think it little or nothing.

"'Alice Masherother, wife of John Masherother, brazier, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for her conscience will not serve her, and yet obstinately refuseth so to do.

"'The same John sayeth he is a poor man and nothing worth, and so we think.

"'Anne Godfrey, single woman, servant to Thomas Awdecorne, tiler, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for she is persuaded in her conscience not to come there.

St. Cuthbert's parish. "'Helen Williamson, wife of John Williamson, tailor, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her heart and conscience will not serve her. And as for the substance of the same John, it is very little or nothing worth as we think.

"'Thomas Wood, labourer, sayeth he cometh not to the church, for his conscience will not serve him so to do. And as for his substance, it is very little or nothing as we think.

"'Agnes Wood, wife of the said Thomas, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for her conscience will not serve her.

"'MIKLYTHWARDE.

Trinity's in Micklegate. "'John Edwyn, yeoman, sayeth he cometh not to his parish church because his conscience will not serve him to come there where James Frost, curate, there is, but he sayeth he hath been before Mr. Dean, and he hath appointed him and his wife to receive at the parish church of St. Michael of the Belfry, and they are contented so to do, or in any other church where the said Frost is not. And as for his substance, he is worth in clear goods 20*s.* as we think.

"'Margaret Edwyn, wife of the said John Edwyn, cometh not to her parish church, for what cause we know not, for she is sick and came not before us.

Janet Stryckett, widow, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her, for the bread and wine is not consecrated as it hath been in time past. And as for her sub-

stance, she sayeth she hath lands for term of her life of the yearly value of 40*s.*, and so we think. And as for her goods, she sayeth she hath given them to her children by deed of gift.

Bishophill, Newer. "'Anne Teshe [in Castro, *in marg.*], wife of Edward Teshe, gentleman, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her, for there is neither priest, altar, nor sacrament.

"'The said Edward Teshe [in Castro, *in marg.*], who hath been heretofore presented to your honour for not coming to the church, is now at London, and so we cannot learn the cause of his absence from the church. And as for his substance, we think him worth in clear goods 5*l.*

"'Bridget Beseley, wife of Edward Beseley, gentleman, cometh not to the church, for what cause we know not, for she cannot be had. And as for the same Edward, he is presently in ward for the like offence. And he hath lands of the yearly value of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And he is worth in goods little or nothing, as we think.

Allhallows in North Street. "'Alice Lobley, wife of Richard Lobley, tanner, sayeth she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her, for she sayeth she thinketh the Baptism is not as it hath been, and sayeth she will not receive so long as she liveth.

"'The same Richard sayeth he oweth as much as he hath, and liveth upon his credit, and so we think.

St. John's parish at Ousebridge-end. "'Anne Hewett, single woman, daughter and servant to Thomas Hewett, wax chandler, sayeth she cometh not to the church because there is no priest there nor right sacrament.

"'Anne Brymeley [recessit, *in marg.*], seamster [*i.e.* spinster], examined, if she had a master and were forth of prison, whether she would come to church or not, sayeth her conscience would not

serve her to come there, for if she should, then she should damn her own soul.

"'Margaret Hewett [recessit, *in marg.*], seamster, daughter to the above-named Thomas Hewett, which Margaret was lately presented for not coming to the church, is gone forth of this city, to what place we know not.

"'BOTHOMEWARDE.

St. Michael's of the Belfry. "'Margaret Tesimond, wife of William Tesimond, saddler, sayeth she cometh not to the church, for if she should she thinketh she should offend God, and therefore her conscience will not suffer her to come there.

"'The same William is in the Castle for the like offence. And he hath lands of the yearly value of 26*s.* 8*d.*, and he is worth in goods little or nothing.

"'Alice Durham, wife of Richard Durham, barber, sayeth she cometh not to the church for her conscience will not serve her so to do, and her heart also goeth against it because there lacketh the altar and the true priest; and further, she sayeth that she thinketh that those that be now married are not right married.

"'The same Richard sayeth he hath no lands nor goods, and so we think.

St. Martin's in Coney Street. "'Jane Lawnder [recessit, *in marg.*], wife of John Lawnder, gentleman, sayeth she cometh not to the church for her conscience will not serve her, and sayeth she doth not like of anything that there is read. And as for the substance of the same John, we think him worth in clear goods 6*l.*, and as for lands he hath no more but only the house that he dwelleth in, so far as we know.

"'Anne Cooke, wife of Ambrose Cooke, saddler, sayeth she cometh not to the church for her conscience will not serve her so to do.

"'The same Ambrose sayeth he hath neither lands nor yet any goods if his debts were paid, and so we think.

St. Wilfred's parish. "'Helen Boothe [mortua, *in marg.*], widow, sayeth she cometh not to the church for her conscience will not serve her. And further sayeth, if she should come to the church she should rather offend God than otherwise. And as for her substance, we think her worth in clear goods 40*s.*

"'Janet Fothergill [recessit, *in marg.*], widow, who hath been heretofore presented for not coming to the church, is forth of the city and cannot be had, and so we could not learn the cause of her absence from the church. And as for her substance, we think her worth in clear goods 20*s.*

St. Olave's parish. "'Catherine Gillott, wife of George Gillott, innholder, sayeth she cometh not to the church because she is excommunicated and cannot be absolved without money which she sayeth she lacketh. And she being examined if she would come to the church if she were absolved, she sayeth seeing she was put forth of the church she would not come there. And as for the substance of the said George, we think him worth nothing.

"'Grace Wood [extra libertates, *in marg.*], wife of William Wood, yeoman, cometh not to the church and is excommunicated and she would not appear before us, but answered the officer when he went to warn and command her and her husband to appear before us, that her husband was as well occupied and did serve the Queen as well as any in York. And as for herself she said she had other business to do than to come before me the said Mayor.

"'The said William Wood is worth in clear goods 3*l.*, as we think, and he is servant to John Genkyns, Esquire, the Queen's Majesty's Receiver within Yorkshire.

"'THE AINSTY.

Marston. "'Margaret Thwaites, wife of John Thwaites, Esquire, sayeth she cometh not to the church for her conscience will not serve her so to do, because there is nothing in the church that she liketh of.

"'The said John Thwaites sayeth that he hath lands of the yearly value of 10*l.*, and as for his goods, he sayeth he oweth more than he is worth, and so we think.

Aconne. "'Richard Gibson, who hath been heretofore presented for not coming to the church, is now in York Castle for suspect of felony.

"'In witness whereof to this our present certificate we have subscribed with our own hands the 23rd day of November in the nineteenth year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

"'RALPH HALL, Mayor.
WILLIAM BECKWITH.
RICHARD CALOME.
CHRISTOPHER HARBERT.
ROBERT MASKEWE.
THOMAS HARRYSON.
JOHN DYNELEY.
HUGH GRAVES.
ROBERT CRIPLING.'

"And further it is agreed by these presents that Mr. Calome, Mr. Harbert, Mr. Maskewe, Mr. Harryson, and Mr. Dyneley, aldermen, shall this day at two of the clock in the afternoon, go and accompany my Lord Mayor to my Lord President, and welcome his honour home, and deliver to him the certificate of persons absenting themselves from the church" (fol. 96, 101).

"10° *Aprilis*, 19° *Elizabeth* [1577].

"*Johes. Dyneley, Maior*, &c. Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year aforesaid, when and where Percival Geldart, Christopher Kitchenman, and George Hall of Christ's parish, John Masherother and Thomas Langton of St. Sampson's parish, whose wife cometh not to the church on Sundays and holidays, and also William Hutton of Christ's parish aforesaid, who neither he nor yet his wife cometh to the

church on Sundays, personally appeared before these presents. And for so much as the said Percival, Christopher, George, John, Thomas, and William would not nor yet will suffer distresses to be taken by the churchwardens of their several parishes for the several offences aforesaid, nor yet will pay any money for the same, according to the order thereof lately made, therefore it is now agreed by these presents that they and every of them shall be forthwith committed to ward, and further order to be taken for their offences.

"And now also John Oldcorne of St. Sampson's parish, who cometh not to the church on Sundays and holidays, personally appeared before these presents, and sayeth he is content to suffer the churchwardens of the same parish to take his distresses for his offence.

"Also Margaret Hewett, daughter of Thomas Hewett, of John's parish at Ousebridge-end, personally appeared before these presents, who wilfully and obstinately refuseth to come to the church, and will not pay any money for her offence. Therefore it is agreed by these presents that she shall be forthwith committed to ward" (n. 27, fol. 19).

"19° *Aprilis*, 19° *Elizabeth.*

"It was agreed by these presents that the chamberlains shall forthwith pay to James Beckwith, late churchwarden of the parish of Allhallows upon the Pavement, 2*s.* 5*d.* in full satisfaction of all such costs as he hath sustained about a suit commenced against him by one John Wildon in the Sheriff's Court, for a distress which the same James did during his said office take of the goods of the said John, viz., eight pair of nether stocks or hose, because his wife did wilfully absent herself from her parish church on the Sundays and holidays, contrary to the statutes. And that the said James shall forthwith deliver to the said chamberlains the said distress, and they to keep the same until such time as the said John do pay to them again the said 2*s.* 5*d.*" (fol. 25).

"25° *Octobris*, 19° *Elizabeth.*

"Also it is agreed by these presents that the churchwardens

of all such parishes within this city, and suburbs of the same, where any persons have been presented for not coming to church, shall be called before my Lord Mayor this present day at afternoon, to the intent to know of them what money or distresses they have received or taken of the offenders. And further, to learn of every the said churchwardens the names of all persons which wilfully absent themselves from the church on Sundays and holidays, and how long every of them have so absented themselves, and those that be imprisoned for that offence, to learn how long they have been imprisoned. And further, that the said churchwardens shall bring in the distresses to-morrow to Ousebridge to the intent all the same may be [ap]praised and sold according to the custom of this city" (fol. 61 *b*).

"10° *Januarii*, 20° *Elizabeth* [1578].

"Also it is agreed by these presents that John Wildon, and all others of Allhallows parish and Peterlane Little, being now in the Kidcote, and also Mr. Lee being forth of this city, all which persons are assessed to pay to the poor, and the same money hath been behind a good space, and as yet cannot be had, that the same money shall be paid by the chamberlains. *Quousque*, &c." (fol. 71 *b*).

"19° *Februarii*, 20° *Elizabeth.*

"And now Ambrose Cooke hath submitted himself to abide the order of this Court for the arrearages due by him for his wife's offence for not coming to the church, contrary to the ordinance thereof made by this Court" (fol. 83).

"21° *Februarii*, 20° *Elizabeth.*

"And now John Wildon, William Wilkinson, William Plowman, Richard Durham, Thomas Langton, have submitted themselves to bide the order of this Court for arrearages due by every of them for their wives' offence for not coming to the church, contrary to the ordinance of this city therefore lately established by this Court" (fol. 83 *b*).

"*Ult°. Aprilis*, 20° *Elizabeth* [1578].

"It was agreed by these presents that John Wildon and

all other persons who were lately in ward for that they made rescue and would not suffer their goods to be restrained for their wives' absence from the church, shall be commanded to appear before my Lord Mayor and his brethren at this place this day sennight, and by Mr. Recorder's advice further order to be taken against them" (fol. 89 *b*).

"28° *Maii*, 20° *Elizabeth*.

"Also it is agreed that the fines of such persons that made rescues when their distresses were taken, shall be assessed on Friday next" (fol. 93).

"4° *Junii*, 20° *Elizabeth*.

"Hugh Graves, Lord Mayor of the city of York, to the churchwardens of Christ's parish who now are, and to the late churchwardens there, and to every of them greeting. Whereas I am informed that Mr. John Dyneley, late Lord Mayor of the said city, about the 26th of November last past [1577], directed his precepts to you the said late churchwardens, commanding you by the same in the Queen's Majesty's behalf forthwith to levy of the goods of Thomas Vavasour, doctor of physic, William Hutton, Percival Geldart, Lancelot Geldart, Richard Halliday, John Cowling, Agnes Kitcherman, widow, for every Sunday and other holiday that Dorothy Vavasour, wife of the said Thomas Vavasour; Mary Hutton, wife of the said William Hutton; Janet Geldart, wife of the said Percival Geldart; Janet Geldart, wife of the said Lancelot Geldart; Emma Halliday, wife of the said Richard Halliday; Alice Cowling, wife of the said John Cowling; and Agnes Kitchyman, widow, had wilfully absented themselves from their parish church from the 25th of January then last past unto the day of the date of the said precept 12*d*., by way of distress. And where also you the said late churchwardens were commanded by the said precept to levy of the goods of the said Thomas Vavasour, William Hutton, Percival Geldart, Lancelot Geldart, Richard Halliday, John Cowling, and Agnes Kitchyman, and of the goods of Christopher Rayne, William Bachelar, John Weddell, John Clitherowe, and George Hall, and of all other persons within the said parish for every Sunday and other holiday that the wives of the said Thomas Vavasour, William

Hutton, Percival Geldart, Lancelot Geldart, Richard Halliday, John Cowling, Christopher Rayne, William Bachelar, John Weddell, John Cowling [Clitherowe], George Hall, Agnes Kitchyman, widow, and other persons should from thenceforth be absent from their parish church, and would not come to the same, and there remain orderly and soberly during the time of common prayer, preaching, or other service of God, then to be used and ministered, but obstinately and wilfully should refuse the same contrary to the true meaning of the statutes made in the first year of the Queen's Majesty's reign, for every such offence 12*d.*, by way of distress, &c. And that all the said money so to be raised might be bestowed according to the said statute, and according to the order set down by the Lord Mayor and his brethren the said 15th of January. And further, whereas now the said late churchwardens were commanded by the said precept to certify the said late Mayor and his brethren every fortnight as well of all such money by you to be levied, and of the bestowing thereof in form aforesaid, as also all other your doings in the execution of the premises as by the same precept more plainly appeareth, and for so much as neither you nor any of you have as yet made any certificate to me of the premises since my entry into my office and so have neglected your duties in this behalf, these are now, therefore, of the Queen's Majesty's behalf, to will and command you the churchwardens that now are, and every of you immediately upon the sight hereof, to call to you the said late churchwardens and to learn of them how many Sundays or other holidays during their office they made not levy according to the effects of the said former precept. And that done, you, the churchwardens that now are, forthwith to levy of the goods of every of the said persons which have offended in form aforesaid for every Sunday and other holiday that every of them have offended from the said 15th of November last hitherto, for every such offence 12*d.*, by way of distress, unless the said offenders can show some lawful and reasonable cause of their absence. And also I do will and command you, the churchwardens that now are, and every of you in the Queen's Majesty's name, that you do levy of the goods of the said Thomas Vavasour, William Hutton, Percival Geldart, Lancelot

Geldart, Richard Halliday, John Cowling, Christopher Rayne, William Bachelar, John Weddell, John Clitherowe, George Hall, and Agnes Kitchyman, widow, and of all other persons within the said parish for every Sunday and other holiday that the wives of the said Thomas Vavasour, William Hutton, Percival Geldart, Lancelot Geldart, Richard Halliday, John Cowling, Christopher Rayne, William Bachelar, John Weddell, John Clitherowe, George Hall, and Agnes Kitchyman, widow, and other persons of the said parish shall from henceforth be absent from their said parish church, and will not come to the same, and there remain orderly and soberly during the time of common prayer, preaching, or other service of God, then to be used and ministered, but obstinately and wilfully shall refuse the same contrary to the true meaning of the said statute, for every such offence 12*d.*, by way of distress, unless the said offenders can show some lawful and reasonable cause of their absence, to be allowed from time to time by me the said Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and four of my brethren aldermen, which Dorothy, Mary, Janet, &c., have been lately presented offenders in this behalf against the form of the said statute, so that all the money so by you to be levied may be bestowed according to the said statute, and according to the said order set down by the said Lord Mayor and his brethren. And further, I, the said Mayor in the Queen's Majesty's name, do will and command you, the churchwardens that now [are], to certify me in writing under your hands as well of all such money by you to be levied, as of all other your doings in execution of the premises, on Wednesday being the 11th of June next coming, at nine of the clock before noon, in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge. And so from thenceforth every fortnight. And also that you, the said late churchwardens, do then and there certify me and my brethren in writing, &c., as well of all such money by you levied, and of the bestowing thereof, as of all other your doings in execution of the premises, by force of the said former precept. And that neither you, the churchwardens that now are, nor yet the said late churchwardens, fail herein, as you and every of you will answer to the contrary at your extreme perils. Given at the said city under my seal," &c. (fol 95).

"18° *Junii*, 20° *Elizabeth.*

"And now it is agreed by these presents that the constables and two or moo [*i.e.* more] of the discreet, honest, and substantial persons of every parish within every ward of this city shall be called before the Lord Mayor and aldermen, within their several wards, on Monday next, at the place accustomed, that is to say, Walmegateward and Micklethward, at nine of the clock before noon, and Bothomeward and Monkward at one of the clock at afternoon. And also that the constables and two or more of the discreet, honest, and substantial persons of every township and hamlet of the north side of the Ainsty to be before Mr. Appleyard, Mr. Maskewe, Mr. Harryson, and Mr. Dyneley, aldermen, on Monday come a sennight at Marston Church. And likewise that the constables and two or more of the discreet, honest, and substantial persons of every township of the south side of the Ainsty shall be called before Mr. Harbert, Mr. Cripling, Mr. Askwith, and Mr. Robinson, aldermen, the same day and hour at Copmanthorpe Chapel, for and concerning the due execution of the commission and articles following and warrants to be directed accordingly.

"'To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Justices of our Peace within our city of York and the county and liberties of the same and to every of them.

"'By the Queen.

"'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we and our Council in the north parts be credibly informed of sundry griefs and disorders continually increasing in our city of York and county of the same, and that the same groweth chiefly by the idleness of many of our common subjects in these parts, and partly through the careless negligence of divers and sundry of our Justices of Peace in the same county, for want of good example in themselves and the due execution of divers the good and necessary laws and statutes of this our realm: We have, therefore, thought good to will and require you, and by virtue hereof to charge and command you that with such convenient speed as you may after the receipt hereof to assemble yourselves in your several limits and divisions, and at such day and days, place and places, as you think good, to meet and consult for the

execution of these articles herewith annexed, so as the same be done with such deliberate advice and discretion as may least trouble or molest the great number of our subjects and inhabitants within your said several divisions. And of your doings and proceedings herein our pleasure is that you certify our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, the Earl of Huntingdon, our President in these parts, or in his absence the Vice-President and Council there monthly, or every six weeks at the least, till the 6th of November next coming, and that you make your first certificate in the assize week next. Whereof we require you not to fail, as you tender our good pleasure, your own duties, the care of your country, and will answer the contrary at your peril. Given under our signet, at our city of York, the 16th of June, the twentieth year of our reign.

" 'And by her Council.'

" 'Articles and certain special matters to be considered of and put in execution by the good directions and discretions of the Justices of Peace within the city of York and county of the same.

" 'And first to give order and strait charge that the people on Sabbath days and other holidays, having no lawful or reasonable let, do resort to their parish church or chapel to hear divine service and sermons, and to receive the holy communion monthly or four times in the year at the least, and the Justices themselves to be zealous and forward in this behalf, and so to give good example to their neighbours and parishioners, and to certify the names of those persons that of obstinacy or wilfulness do dislike of the service now used, or contemn the same, and do not come to the church, and to give strait order to the churchwardens to levy the pains and sums of money of such persons as shall offend contrary to the laws and statutes in this behalf, which is 12*d.* for every default, so as the said sums of money may be distributed in the parishes, and where the offences shall be so committed, for the relief of the poor of the same parish according to the late statute in that behalf provided, and that the churchwardens do make their weekly account to you, the Justices, or such as you shall appoint, of the levying and distribution of the said sums of money.

" 'Also that the said statute for the punishment of idle persons,

rogues, vagrant people, may be by your good discretions more duly put in execution than hitherto it hath been, so as the idle people may be set to work and labour, and those that will [not] work and labour and be able to [do] so be severely corrected and punished according to the statute, and the aged, impotent, and sick persons, and such as be not able to work and labour, to be more carefully and charitably provided for than hitherto they have been, so as none be suffered to wander and go abroad.

"'Also that the several statutes for spreading of false rumours and tales of the Queen's Majesty, or spreading of rumours and tales to make dissension or discord between her and her noblemen, peers of this realm, or if any person or persons shall tell or speak any false news, rumours, messages, or tales of any prelate, Justices of the one Bench or of the other, or other great officers within this realm, whereby discord or slander may arise within the realm, that you cause such persons to be apprehended and committed to the gaol, there to remain until they shall be delivered by justice and order of law.

"'Also to avoid many inconveniences that may and do happen by night-walkers, that you give very strait order that the statutes for watches and the statutes for hemandaye be duly executed and better observed in all villages and towns and other places than heretofore they have been, whereby many robberies, thefts, murders, and other offences shall and may be cut off and prevented, or at the least the offenders shall by the diligent execution of these laws be met withal and apprehended.

"'Also that none be suffered to keep alehouses without special licence of the Justices of Peace, and bonds with sureties, according to the statute, for good order and rule to be kept within such alehouses as by licence are tolerated, and all others to be secluded and restrained from keeping of any alehouses; and those that by licences and bonds are suffered to keep alehouses that if they offend contrary to the laws and statutes that their licences may be taken from them, and their bonds, with the penalties, be certified and estreated into the Exchequer, or else information and relation be made thereof to the Queen's Attorney in the north parts, that he may, by bill or information, in her Majesty's name proceed against such offenders by order of law, and that you do

always foresee that the excessive number of alehouses be avoided and none suffered to be kept in corners and outside of towns.

"'Also that very good order be taken and strait charge given to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and especially in all market towns and thoroughfare towns to have good regard to the houses and inns that do use to lodge and receive strangers and guests, and that the houses and owners of those houses be warned to keep such account and reckoning of their guests which they do lodge, as they may be able upon demand to yield account of the names of the persons lodged in their houses, the time of their being there, and of the intention of their journey, from what place they came, and whither they say they mind to travel or go.

"'Also that the laudable exercise of shooting in the long-bow, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, may be again revived, used, and maintained more ordinarily and commonly used than of late it hath been, whereby many idle, unprofitable, ungodly, and unlawful games may be the less set by and avoided, and so the people and subjects better trained and more able to serve for the defence of their country, and that the Justices themselves, their household servants and tenants, would be forward and give good example for the good and due execution of this so necessary wholesome and good a law.

"'Also to have vigilant eye and regard to such as be harbourers and maintainers of any priests, schoolmasters, or other persons, not yet confirmed or reformed, or such as have been of late beyond the seas and are returned, and be no favourers of the godly and Christian religion now established and professed, and that you do certify their names, qualities, and dwelling-places, or to whose houses and places they do resort or have access.

"'And that albeit these articles, or the most part of them, amongst others, are commonly given in charge at the quarter sessions, yet because they be then slightly regarded and slightly passed over, either by the simplicity of the jury or that you the Justices have so little time there to remain together, be taken as matters of course and things ordinary, it is thought convenient that you and every of you, in your several divisions, should, by your wisdoms and good discretions, now by the authority of

these commissions and these articles, seek the redress and reformation of such disorders and inconveniences as daily grow and happen for lack of expression of these former articles.

"'And that if you know of any other inconvenience, grief, or public disorder, forcible entries, riots, or other oppressions, amending of highways, bridges, and causeways, and for retainers and giving of liveries and badges or cognizances, or any other thing whatsoever, appertaining to your offices, duties, and callings as Justices of Peace, you shall do well to give order for the amendment and repair thereof, and that you yourselves cannot do, to certify the said Lord President and Council thereof, and so shall you show yourselves profitable members of the Commonwealth and careful of the public weal of your country'" (fol. 98 *b*).

"3° *Julii*, 20° *Elizabeth*.

"Also it is agreed that John Wildon and others, whose fines are assessed for and concerning their wives' offence, shall either upon demand pay the same forthwith, or else they to be forthwith upon refusing to pay the same committed to ward, there to remain till they shall have fully discharged the same with the arrearages thereof" (fol. 103).

"4° *Martii*, 21° *Elizabeth* [$157\frac{8}{9}$].

"*Robertus Cripling, Maior.* Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year above said, when and where certain persons who wilfully do absent themselves from the church were now called before these presents and earnestly moved to come to the church, the names of which persons, with their sayings or answers touching the same, hereafter followeth.

"Richard Halliday, of this city, girdler, hath promised unto my Lord Mayor and his worshipful brethren that he will lay his commandment unfeignedly upon his wife, and move and counsel her to come to the church and hear divine service and sermons, according to the laws of God and the Queen's Majesty's laws of this realm.

"Emott Halliday, wife of the said Richard Halliday, hath here likewise promised that she will come to the church, but she will not tell when she will come to the church.

"Mary Hutton, wife of William Hutton, of this city, draper, sayeth she will come to God's church, but she will not tell when as she will come thither.

"Anne Cooke, wife of Ambrose Cooke, of this city, saddler, sayeth she cannot appoint any time when as she will come to the church, but as shall please God.

"Agnes Johnson, of the said city, widow, sayeth that she will go to the Church of God and not to this church.

"William Bowman, of this city, locksmith, sayeth that his conscience will not serve him to go to the church as yet.

"Alice Simpson, of Huntingdon, in the county of York, widow, sayeth that she will come to the Church of God, but her conscience will not serve her to come to this church" (fol. 144 *b*).

"15° *Aprilis*, 22° *Elizabeth* [1580].

"It was agreed by these presents that Thomas Lister, sailor, shall be forthwith committed to ward, there to remain by the space of twenty days next coming, for making of an assault and affray on Robert Harrison, butcher, one of the churchwardens of St. John's parish of Ousebridge-end, coming to take a distress of the goods of —— Todd for not coming to the church according to a former order made in the time of the mayoralty of Mr. Ralph Hall, and contrary to the Queen's Majesty's laws" (fol. 232).

"26° *Julii*, 22° *Elizabeth*.

"It was agreed by these presents that so soon as it is known by presentment of the jury now charged what persons have or do wilfully absent themselves from their parish churches on Sundays or holidays in time of divine service, that then forthwith commandment shall be given or left at the dwelling-houses of all persons where any such offenders shall be, that they themselves do resort, and also do bring their wife, children, and servants so offending to their several parish churches within ten days then next coming, there to remain orderly and soberly during the time of divine service, and so continually every Sunday and holiday from thenceforth. And also to pay all their fines for the time bypast. Or else that upon their refusal as well the persons offenders being men, as the husbands of all the said wives, fathers

of the said children, and masters of the said servants so offending, to be utterly disfranchised, unless every person so offending can show a lawful excuse of their said absence to be allowed by my Lord Mayor and aldermen" (fol. 246 *b*).

"25° *Augusti*, 23° *Elizabeth* [1581].

"*William Robinson, Mayor.* Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge the day and year above said, when and where it was agreed by these presents that Agnes Fuyster, widow, being now in the Castle for religion, shall be clearly discharged of all such money as she is behind for assessed for the poor" (n. 28 fol. 25).

"19° *Martii*, 25° *Elizabeth* [1583].

"And Henry Lakin, one of the sergeants to the sheriffs of this city, for his lewd demeanour, viz., in suffering certain prisoners being in his ward when as he was gaoler to go forth of John Trewe's house and to confer with Papists, viz., with Thirkeld, a Seminary priest, and others, therefore it is this day ordered and agreed that the said Henry shall be discharged and displaced from the office of a sergeant-at-mace, and never hereafter to be sergeant to any sheriff again within this city. And also that the said Lakin shall be committed to Monkbar, there to remain till to-morrow at night for his said offence.

"And it is also agreed that James Hutchinson, sergeant, shall be also committed to ward to Monkbar, to remain there till to-morrow at night, because he would not confess the truth touching Henry Lakin's offence" (n. 28, fol. 95).

"14° *Februarii*, 26° *Elizabeth* [1583].

"And whereas lately the sheriffs of this city taking occasion to view their prisoners in the Kidcotes upon Ousebridge they found amongst those that are committed for not coming to church certain Mass books, pictures, holy water with strencles,[2] beads, pairs of vestments, wax candles, and girdle, and a great canvas bag belonging to some man having in it some unlawful books, wherefore it is supposed that some Seminary priest did

[1] *Strenkle* or *strinkle*, an *aspersorium* to cast holy water. *Halliwell.*

resort and frequent the company of the said prisoners in the said gaols and there did say Mass, persuading the said prisoners to remain in their disobedience. And whereas also the children of William Hutton, draper, one of the prisoners in the said gaols, have course and liberty to go from place to place in the said gaols and to carry letters and messages to and from the said prisoners, to the discredit and slander of the said sheriffs to whose charge the government of the said gaols is committed. Therefore for the straiter custody of the said prisoners and better order in the said gaols, it is by us here assembled agreed as followeth:

"First, that the sheriffs shall remove forth of their Kidcotes into the Mayor's Kidcotes all such prisoners as there are for religion, and likewise that they shall remove all such as are in the Mayor's Kidcotes. And also that the said sheriffs cause the said children of William Hutton to be kept with their mother, in the prison where she is, unless the said William Hutton can otherwise provide for them so that they be not suffered to go abroad, neither to repair to their father in the Mayor's Kidcote.

"And it is further agreed that the said sheriffs shall from henceforth cause the doors of the said gaols and Kidcotes, the sheriffs' Kidcotes, where the said prisoners for debt shall be remaining only excepted, to be close and surely locked, so that no manner of person or persons whatsoever be suffered to resort with necessaries convenient, as meat, drink, water, fuel, and clothes, to any of the said prisoners (except before excepted) at any time either day or night, but only between the hours of seven and eight of the clock in the mornings, and between four and five of the clock in the afternoons, and that the said necessaries shall be conveyed and delivered as is aforesaid in the presence of such officers as the said sheriffs shall appoint for the keeping of the said Kidcotes and gaols.

"And it is also agreed that the said sheriffs shall not suffer any of the prisoners which shall be in the Mayor's Kidcotes to come up to the grate or gates of the said Kidcotes, but to be kept below in the said prisons, and that such necessaries as is aforesaid, which shall happen to be brought, shall be conveyed to the said prisoners between the said hours, by such officers as the said sheriffs shall appoint for the keeping of the said

gaols, as the said sheriffs will answer the contrary at their peril.

"And for better expedition in the premises, it is agreed that the chamberlains shall forthwith alter and amend all such things in and about the said gaols as the said sheriffs at their discretions shall think convenient, at the charge of the Common Chamber" (fol. 129).

"*Mem.* That I, John Beysbeye, keeper of the recognizances in the Castle of Kingston upon Hull, have received the 23rd of August, 1585, of Robert Peacock, merchant, William Shillyto, Thomas Benson, and Thomas Waddye, by order from her Majesty's most honourable Council established in the north parts, these persons following, *viz.*, William Bickbecke, William Hudson, Thomas Smarthewaite, Thomas Shillito, Edward Hartborne, *alias* Benett Lyncolne, Michael Bolton, William Robinson, Anthony Wilkinson, Edmund Sikes, and John Marche, being Popish priests, and John Hewett,[1] a Popish subdeacon. In witness whereof I the said John Beysbeye have set to my hand the day and year above written.

"JOHN BEYSBEYE" (n. 29, fol. 86).

"10° *Novembris*, 1592.

"*Thomas Harrison, Mayor.* Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year within written, when and where the accounts and orders of the last court were read.

"And now my Lord Mayor delivered into this Court a letter sent from Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Rokeby, two of her Majesty's Council in the north, directed to my Lord Mayor and aldermen, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth:

"'To their very good friends the Lord Mayor of the city of York, and to the Aldermen of the same, give these.

"'My Lord Mayor, it pleased my Lord President upon his

[1] In the Second Douay Diary in the month of November, 1585, this entry occurs: "7° die venerunt ad nos D. David Kempe, presbyter, et D. Joannes Huitt, diaconus, paulo ante de carcere Eboracensi emissus et in exilium missus." John Hewitt's name is the last in the list of those ordained priest in 1585. He was martyred at York, October 5, 1588.

departure to let us know that Anthony Major,[1] a Seminary priest, whom in respect of his lordship's knowledge (soon after his apprehension) that he was a man that hath been of great practice amongst her Majesty's ill-affected subjects, he thought meet to commit into very safe custody until his lordship's self might confer with the lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council concerning him, in regard whereof in the latter end of this summer his lordship required the sheriffs of this city to take charge of him, who committed him to an inner place at Ousebridge, where he can neither be seen at any grate to be relieved, nor yet to be conferred with by any of his seekers; and now at this his lordship's going up, he hoping ere long to have some further directions for himself, nevertheless, thinking it inconvenient to leave the burden of his sole finding to the two sheriffs, wished us in his lordship's behalf to move your lordship to confer with the aldermen of the city that you would every man one day in a row relieve him with a morsel of some hot meat and broth, or such like, dinner and supper time; and his lordship accounting that the sheriffs joining with you in their turn it would not come passing once in a fortnight about, which he hopeth you will all vouchsafe doing for her Majesty's better service till you hear from his lordship again, which we think will not be long. His lordship made a like motion at Newcastle in the like case, which was willingly yielded unto, and wherefore we doubt not but you will either do this his lordship's requiring, or let us know whereby we may advertise his lordship further answer. And even so we bid you heartily farewell.

" 'York, this 3rd of November, 1592.'

" Which being read and heard, it is affirmed by Mr. Harbert that the Seminary did offer to find himself the last year, if the sheriffs that then were would have taken him up, and also it is now confessed by the sergeants that he hath been up at Fordam's a fortnight and more before this letter was written, by consent of the Council, and they the said sergeants have further confessed that he hath given them 20*s.* for ease of his irons since his taking up, and Fordam hath given him meat these three days. It

[1] Anthony Major ultimately apostatized, *supra*, p. 187.

is therefore thought by these presents that he, being above, is able to relieve himself. See an order for relieving him, 15th November.

"15° *Novembris*, 1592.

"*Thomas Harrison, Lord Mayor.* Whereas Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Rokeby, two of her Majesty's Council in these north parts, have by their letters requested my Lord Mayor and aldermen that they, together with the sheriffs, will help to relieve the Seminary, which by commandment of my Lord President is kept in close prison, so as he cannot beg relief at the grate, now my Lord Mayor and aldermen are content, in respect of the said letter and motion, so that the same be not as a precedent hereafter, notwithstanding that they ought not to be charged with relieving of him, but the sheriffs only, that they the said Lord Mayor and aldermen will every of them a day one after another upon their charity give him such charitable relief, or in money or in meat, as they shall think meet, being sufficient to relieve him, beginning first with my Lord Mayor, next with the ancientest alderman, and so every alderman and sheriff in their antiquities, until he shall be either removed or at liberty to come to the grate to beg" (n. 30, fol. 360).

"The copies of certain letters from my Lord Lieutenant to my Lord Mayor and others:

"'To my loving friends the Lord Mayor of the city of York, the Recorder, and any three of the aldermen, his l[ordship's] assistants, give these.

"'After my hearty commendations, these are to let you understand that I have this day received letters from my lords for such matters to be executed by her Majesty's commandment, as by the copies thereof which I have herewith sent unto you will appear, and because the service in them required to be both speedily and faithfully performed is of great moment, I require you in the city of York and the Ainsty to take especial care that the same may be despatched in such sort as may be to the good contentment of her Majesty and the expectation of the lords, and what you shall do herein I desire to be advertised with what convenient speed you may. And so hoping you will have that due regard as is fit

in a matter so necessary, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty. From York this 8th of January, 1593[4].

"'Your loving friend,

"'H. HUNTINGDON.'

"'After our right hearty commendations to your lordship. By the enclosed you shall understand the course presently taken to discover within the realm what sons of gentlemen are at this present beyond the seas, sent over by their parents, tutors, or patrons, under colour of languages to be learned, for that it is daily by dangerous experience found that the education of such in foreign parts doth breed much corruption in religion and manners amongst the better sort of her Majesty's subjects. For redress wherein these directions are now given, and her Majesty's pleasure is that your lordship within the counties and parts of your charge do among your deputy lieutenants and other the Justices of the Peace well affected in every of them, make choice of some meet and sufficient persons to execute the effect of her Majesty's commandment by the inclosed signified; and that by your lordship's special care certificates be speedily returned to us, that her Majesty may be truly advertised of the answers and doings of the commissioners; whereof not doubting your lordship will have due regard, we bid you right heartily farewell. From Hampton Court, the last of December, 1593.

"'Your good lordships very loving friends,

"'Jo. PUCKERING, C.S.,	RO. CECYLL,
W. BURGHLEY,	F. BUCKEHURST,
ESSEX,	J. WOLLEY,
C. HOWARD,	J. FORTESCUE.'

"'After our very hearty commendations. The Queen's Majesty finding no small inconveniences to grow unto the realm by sending out of the same the children of many gentlemen, under colour of learning the languages, whereby they are for the most part bred and brought up in the Popish religion and corruptness of manners to the manifest prejudice of the State here, which her Majesty, desirous to reform as a disorder of no small importance, hath given order that inquisition be made throughout the realm

what sons of gentlemen are at this present beyond the seas, conveyed over at any time within seven years last passed, and by what licence they are gone; and for such as are departed out of the realm, if they be sons of any recusants, or of such as do conform themselves in show only to avoid the dangers and penalties of the laws, it is not to be doubted but the intention of their parents hath been to have them brought up and instructed in Popery, and of those many do become Seminary priests, Jesuits, and unsound subjects, and sent hither to pervert such as are dutiful and well inclined, and to practise thereby to disturb the quiet and happy government of her Majesty: We, therefore, for the better execution of her Majesty's direction in this behalf, have made special choice of you as of persons in our opinions meet for your loyalties and affection to her Majesty and the good of your country, to be employed in this service, and do hereby require and authorize you and every of you, jointly and severally, by all good means to inquire and examine what gentlemen within that country have at this present any sons, kinsmen, or other persons whose education hath been committed to their charge, or whom they do relieve or any way maintain out of the realm, being sent over under colour to learn languages, or for any other respects, not being notoriously employed in her Majesty's martial services or trade merchandises as apprentices or factors to known merchants, and to send unto us a catalogue of the names, as well of the father and parents, or of their tutors and patrons, as of the sons and other parties so sent over or maintained, in what parts they are and how long they have been absent, and of those fathers, parents, or other friends by whom any such have been sent out of the realm, if any of them be found to be recusants, or have been evil affected, and to your knowledge are but feignedly reformed, you shall cause bonds to be taken in good sums of money to her Majesty's use for their personal appearance before us by a certain day, to be by you prefixed; and before the bonds so taken, you shall by authority hereof enter and make search within their houses for Seminary priests, Jesuits, and other suspected persons, and to apprehend and commit them to prison if any such shall be found; as also to open and make search in their closets, chests, desks, and coffers, only for books, letters, and writings that may any way concern

matter against the State or the religion here established, which you shall seize and send hither unto us forthwith, signifying the manner of your proceeding and your opinions of the men and the matters appearing by your search against them, that we upon their appearance may take order with them as well for the revocation of their sons or kinsmen, as for any matter that by your endeavours may be discovered against them. And if the residence of any of these shall happen to be far distant from you, or any one of you, then may you by virtue of these our letters make choice of some one or two honest and discreet gentlemen, being Justices of the Peace and not partially affected towards them, inhabiting near unto them, to whom you may give direction for the performance of the search, &c. And for particular warrant therein, you may send unto them a copy of this our letter under your hands, which shall be to them as sufficient as the original to you. Wherein we require you to use your best and uttermost endeavours, and with as much convenient diligence as you may, to return us your orderly certificate, answering the several points of these our letters and directions. So fare you heartily well. From Hampton Court the last of December, 1593.

"'Your very loving friends,

"'Jo. Puckering, C.S., W. Cobham,
W. Burghley, F. Buckhurst,
Essex, Ro. Cecyll,
C. Howard, J. Fortescue.'

"Certificate from the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the city of York, whose names are here underwritten, unto the right honourable the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Lieutenant and Lord President in the north parts, the last day of January, 1593, touching the sons or kinsmen of gentlemen and others under their charge, or whom they relieve or maintain out of the realm, sent or departed over the seas forth of the said city, or the county of the same city.

"'Our humble duties unto your honourable lordship remembered. May it please to be certified that according to the contents of your honour's letters and the copies of the letters of the lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, which we have

received, we have made diligent inquisition and examination what gentlemen within this city, or the county of the same city, have at this present any sons, kinsmen, or other persons whose education hath been committed to their charge, or whom they do relieve or any way maintain out of the realm, being sent over under colour to learn languages or for any other respects, not being notoriously employed in her Majesty's martial services or trade of merchandise as apprentices or factors to known merchants; and we have learned and found, by information and otherwise, that the persons hereafter named are at this present beyond the seas remaining employed, relieved, or being as hereafter is specified.

"'Francis Thwaites, son to John Thwaites, late of Marston in the county of the city of York, esquire, deceased, and brother to James Thwaites, of Marston aforesaid, esquire, went over the seas about six years since, to what place we know not, neither do we know by whom or how he is relieved or employed.

"'Martin Turner, son to Edward Turner, late of the city of York, gentleman, deceased, went over the seas about three years since, and is at this present, as we be informed, at Venice at the universities, and learning of languages there. He is relieved and maintained by one Lancelot Turner, of this city, gentleman, his brother.

"'Also there be some others at this present remaining beyond the seas, whose parents are but poor and mean persons, and no gentlemen, and some of their said parents are long since dead, and others of them are living and dwelling as hereafter is mentioned, viz.:

"'Thomas Wright and William Wright,[1] sons to John Wright

[1] Thomas Wright, in 1579, was a fellow student with John Pitts, entered the Society in Rome, February 3, 1580; was Professor of Hebrew at Milan; in 1590 went to the German College in Rome, but soon after was sent to teach theology at Louvain. In June, 1595, he was in England under the protection of the Earl of Essex; about which time he was dismissed from the Society. He spent much time in prison during Elizabeth's reign, and was banished in 1603. In 1611 he was a preacher at Antwerp. A letter from him to Father Garnet, written in 1596, is in Stonyhurst MSS. Angl. A. vol. ii. n. 20. See Dr. Jessopp's *Letters of Father Henry Walpole*, p. 55.

William Wright entered the Society in Rome, December 8, 1581; professed July 23, 1602; died in England, January 18, 1639, æt. 77. He spent twenty

of this city, apothecary, which said John Wright is a recusant, went over the seas about fourteen or fifteen years since, who, as we are informed, are both Jesuits; how or by whom they are relieved, or where they remain, we cannot learn.

"'Peter Hutton, son of William Hutton of this city, draper, which said William Hutton is a recusant, went over the seas about six years since; where he is remaining at this present, or how or by whom he is relieved we cannot learn.

"'Edward Oldcorne,[1] son to John Oldcorne, late of this city, bricklayer, deceased, went over the seas about ten years since, but where he is remaining at this present we cannot learn, saving we hear by report that he was at Rheims. How or by whom he is relieved we cannot learn.

"'Henry Clitherowe,[2] son to John Clitherowe of this city, butcher, went over the seas about nine years since, and as we are informed was at Douay. How he is relieved there or by whom we cannot learn.

"'Also the said Henry Clitherowe hath an uncle beyond the seas, called William Clitherowe,[3] a priest. Where he remaineth we cannot learn.

years in Austria, where he was Socius to the Provincial, and taught philosophy and theology. Coming to England in 1606, he was arrested at Hengrave Hall, and committed to the White Lion, which prison was nearly depopulated by a gaol fever. He made his escape, after which his mission for thirty years was in Leicestershire.

[1] Edward Oldcorne, the Jesuit martyr, respecting whom see *The Condition of Catholics under James I.*, p. 278. John his father was not a Catholic, but the name of his mother Elizabeth is in the returns as "old and lame, a recusant."

[2] The name of Henry Clitherow is in the list of the English College at Rome for 1590, and William Clitherow, who was no doubt another son of the martyr, was ordained at Douay in 1608 and was imprisoned at York in April, 1618. In 1620 he was included in a decree of banishment.

[3] William Clitherow was ordained subdeacon at Rheims, by the Bishop of Chalons, on the 19th March, 1580, and deacon at Chalons on the last day of the month. The Second Douay Diary has this entry respecting this ordination: "D. Guil. Clitherous, vir annis et moribus gravis, et apud multos in Anglia nobiles gratia et authoritate suo optimo merito plurimum valens, qui ad sacrum Diaconatus Ordinem admissus est." He left the College for Paris April 8, and was ordained priest at Soissons, June 9, 1582, at which date the College diary says that fifteen went to be ordained, "una cum venerabili viro Guilielmo Clithero."

"'Richard Cowlinge[1] and Thomas Cowlinge, sons to Ralph Cowlinge, late of the said city, shoemaker, deceased, who at his death was a recusant, went over the seas about fourteen years since, to what place there we know not, nor by whom they are relieved. We hear by report that Richard is since dead and that William is a priest.

"'John Hewet,[2] son to William Hewet, sometime of this city, draper, deceased, went over the seas about eight years since, to what place we know not, neither where he is remaining nor how or by whom he is relieved.

"'Your honours humbly to command,

"'ROBT. ASKWITH, Mayor, RO. BROKE,
WM. ROBYNSON, ANDREW TREWE.
WM. HILDYARD' (n. 31, fol. 54).

"13 *Decembris*; 1594, 37° *Elizabeth*.

"Also Dorothy Browne, widow, who by reason she is an obstinate recusant, was heretofore discharged in open sessions from brewing and tippling,[3] for that she doth not give over the

[1] Richard Cowling is first mentioned in the Pilgrim book of the English College, Rome. "Richardus Coulinus Eboracensis, Gulielmus Wrightus Eboracensis, Joannes Sherwodus Londinensis dioecesis, Angli, recepti fuerunt hospitio 5 Octobris 1581, et manserunt per dies octo." He was received at the age of eighteen as a student in the College on the 18th of October, and he left the College a priest in 1588. He entered the novitiate of the Society at Tournay, April 17, 1588. After taking his vows he was Minister for a time at Lille. In 1593, recalled to Rome, he was made Penitentiary at St. Peter's, which office he left for the English mission in April, 1596. He became a spiritual coadjutor October 22, 1603, and died August 26, 1617. Apparently he was in England before his last stay at Rome, for in February, 1583, Thomas Dodwell reported, "One Mr. Ingrome lying right over against Gray's Inn at a tailor's house, gave one Cowling his first entertainment when he came from Rome priest, and directed him to places where he should go" (P.R.O., *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. clxviii. n. 34). Anthony Tyrrell, September 4, 1586, mentioned to Burghley, "Coolinge a Romanist, whose father in York [resorts to] Waterton of Waterton" (*Ibid.* vol. cxciii. n. 13). Towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, in Lord Salisbury's "Note of Jesuits that lurk in England," is "Mr. Coolinge with Mr. Bentley in Northamptonshire" (*Dom. James I.*, vol. vii. n. 50). In a letter to the Pope, dated October 30, 1598 (Father Grene's *P.* fol. 560), Father Garnet calls him Richardus Collinus. He is called Collins by Dr. Oliver.

[2] Respecting this martyr, *vide supra*, p. 272, note.

[3] This use of the word *tipple*, for the sale of beer retail, is not mentioned by Halliwell. It occurs frequently in the York Housebooks.

same, but continually since hath brewed and tippled, is now commit to ward to the custody of Mr. Sheriffs, there to remain until she shall be bound with sureties neither to brew nor tipple from thenceforth" (n. 31, fol. 97).

"1 *Octobris*, 1596, 38° *Elizabeth.*

"And now it is agreed that Miles Dawson,[1] lately taken as a Seminary, who was born in this city, and hath recanted, as my Lord Mayor is informed, and whose pardon my lord his Grace intendeth to procure, in regard that he was a citizen born, and that my Lord Archbishop his Grace hath made request to my Lord Mayor that something may be given to the said Dawson towards the charges of procuring and passing of his said pardon, shall have 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* given him of the arrearages of the soldier money which is remaining in the hands of the treasurers towards that charge, towards which charge my Lord Mayor saith that my lord his Grace, as he hath told my Lord Mayor, will give the said Dawson of his Grace's benevolence 10*l.* *Note:* the treasurers had not in their hands to pay this as they allege, and therefore the common clerk paid the same *per mandatum domini maioris*" (fol. 216 *b*).

"Recusants and non-communicants within the city of York and the county of the same city, January, 1598.

Belfry parish. "Margaret Killingbecke, wife of Thomas Killingbecke, draper, a recusant.

"John Standeven, the elder, did not receive at Easter last, and comes very seldom to the church.

"John Standeven, the younger, did not receive at Easter last, and comes very seldom to the church.

"Jane Ennwiche, widow, a recusant.

"Elizabeth Whalley, *alias* Dineley, widow, a recusant.

St. Ellen's in Staniegate. "Edith Sharpe, wife of Richard Sharpe, tailor, a recusant.

"Isabel Parkinson, single woman, a recusant.

[1] This name does not appear in the Douay or Roman lists.

"MICKLETHWARDE.

Bishophill newer. "Dorothy Browne, widow, a recusant.
"Thomas Taylor, goldsmith, a recusant.
"Margaret Taylor, wife to the said Thomas, a recusant.
"John Taylor, tiler, a recusant.

St. Martin's in Micklegate. "Jane Browne, widow, a recusant.

Trinity's in Micklegate. "Thomas Archer, a recusant, in prison upon Ousebridge.

"WALMEGATEWARDE.

St. Dionys' parish. "Isabel Lee, wife of Roger Lee, doctor in physic, a recusant.
"Alice Carlell, a single woman, lame and impotent, a recusant.

St. Michael's in Ousebridge-end. "Christian Harrison, spinster, a recusant.

Allhallows on the Pavement and Peter the Little. "John Wright, apothecary, a recusant.
"William Plewman, miller, a recusant, in prison upon Ousebridge.
"Lucy Plewman, his wife, a recusant.
"Thomas Plewman, his son, a recusant.

St. Margaret parish. "Thomas Barker, cook, a recusant.
"Thomasine, his wife.

"MONCKEWARDE.

St. Maurice parish. "Thomas Wood, labourer, a recusant.
"Dorothy Ewins, widow, a recusant.

St. Sampson's "Elizabeth Awdcorne, *alias* Oldcorne, old and lame, a recusant.

St. Saviour's and St. Andrew's. "Elizabeth Smythborne, wife to William Smythborne, currier, a recusant.
"*Uxor* Dawson, widow, a recusant.

Christ's parish. "Elizabeth Foxgill, wife to George Foxgill, a recusant.

St. Ellen's on the Walls, "Margaret Criplinge, widow, a recusant.
"John Pearson, labourer, a recusant.

St. Cuthbert's, "Cicely Lenge, wife of Francis Lenge, labourer,
St. Mary's in a recusant, in prison upon Ousebridge.
Lathrope, "*Uxor* Pender, widow, a recusant.
St. John's in "*Uxor* Pole, wife of George Pole, labourer, a
Hungate, recusant.
and "Note her husband is in prison for recusancy
Allhallows in upon Ousebridge.
Pezeholme. "John Fletcher, sometime a schoolmaster, a recusant.

"Recusants and non-communicants in the Ainsty:

Marstone. "James Thwaites, Esq., a non-communicant.

"Mary Thwaites, wife to the said James, a recusant.

"Ellen Thwaites, sister to the said James, non-communicant.

"George Reynold and one Geffrey, whose surname is unknown, serving-men to the said James, non-communicants.

Healey. "Robert Shawe, gentleman, and Jane his wife, non-communicants.

"Myles Wilkinson and Anne his wife, non-communicants.

"Susan Browne, wife to William Browne, non-communicant.

"Prisoners in prison in the Kidcotes upon Ousebridge, within the said city, under the custody of the sheriffs of the said city.

"Michael Tizzie,	Jennet Clarke,
William Bowman,	Cicily Lenge,
Thomas Pearson,	Ellen Rawson,
William Hutton,	Isabel Bowman,
Thomas Smythe,	Alice Bowman,
George Pole,	Margaret Alleine,
John Browne,	Margaret Lutie,
William Plewman,	Ann Nicholson,
John Goulthwate,	Elizabeth Alleley,
John Woode, the elder,	Thomas Awdcorne,

John Woode, the younger, Thomas Porter,
Alice Simpson, Thomas Archer."
Jennet Richardson, (n. 31, fol. 400).

"Convicted recusants to be abjured, *in Comitatu Civitatis Ebor.*, 1599.

"Convicted recusants some part in the twenty-third year of her Majesty's reign, and since that they continued wilful recusants, and several times sithence, and such not having lands and goods wherewith to satisfy but do shiffle [*sic*] the law, and therefore, and for their obstinacy and wilful recusancy, are by the laws to be abjured this realm,[1] according to the establishment in that behalf provided, viz.—

"Thomas Audcorne, *alias* Audcork, labourer, twice convicted.

"William Brenton, a locksmith.

"William Bagler, butcher, *de parochia Stæ. Trinitatis.*

"John Browne, a labourer, *in anno* 34° *Elizabeth* convicted.

"John Browne, a labourer, in Lent last convicted.

Both holden for one man.

"William Browne, *de parochia* St. John's at Ousebridge-end, labourer.

"Nicholas Browne, *de* Bishop hill newer, a tailor, and *uxor ejus.*

"Roger Allen, *de* Hembrough, labourer, convicted in —— Elizabeth; Lent last.

"Thomas Archer, *de eadem*, convicted at the same time and place.

"Richard Dorham, convicted in 23rd Elizabeth, and at several times since.

"Thomas Newell, *alias* Newett, like to him in all points.

"John Gowlethwaite, stationer, and now of St. John's, several times convicted.

"William Hutton, draper, and now of St. John's, like to him.

"Thomas Jackson, labourer, *de* St. Margaret's parish.

[1] To abjure the realm was to swear to leave the kingdom by the port that should be assigned, and not to return without leave of the King. Those abjured were attainted in blood, and forfeited their goods and chattels. Stephen's *Blackstone*, vol. iv. p. 429 *note.*

"Thomas Pearson, linen-weaver, 34° Elizabeth convicted.

"George Powell, miller, the same time. } Convicted, holden
"George Powell, labourer, in Lent last. } for one party.

"William Plewman, a miller, *de parochia* All Saints, three several times convicted.

"Thomas Smythe, of Dringhouses, another of St. John's parish now, and holden both for one party.

"Martin Tailor, of Bishop hill.

"John Fletcher, of St. Cuthbert's in Audmark, schoolmaster and old recusant.

"Thomas Pearson, of St. John's parish, at Ousebridge-end, labourer.

"Thomas Pott, *de eadem*, labourer.

"Thomas Plewman, *de eadem*, labourer.

"John Wood, younger, labourer, *de eadem*."

"Convicted *in anno regni Reginæ Elizabeth* 27° *et* 34° for recusants. Women spinsters convicted *in Com. Civitatis Ebor.*

"Margaret ——	Agnes Hargraves *de* St. Ellen's.
Alice Mason.	Margaret Lewtie, again of St. John's.
Anne Nicholson.	Anne Nicholson, *de eadem*, spinster.
Anne Page.	Isabel Parkinson, *de* St. Ellen's.
Alice Simpson.	Ellen Rawson, *de* St. John's.
Dorothy Thompson.	Agnes Weddell, *de* Christ's parish."
Elizabeth Alleley, *de* Hemborough.	

"Convicted all in Lent last, and some long before, and stand several times convicted" (n. 32, fol. 52).

"3° *Novembris*, 41° *Elizabeth* [1599].

"Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, at one of the clock in the afternoon, where all the ministers, curates, and churchwardens in the city and Ainsty did appear and were sworn and had articles delivered unto them, saving some few churchwardens which, for their absence, were fined. The tenour of which oaths and articles do hereafter follow.

"'The oath of the curates and churchwardens.

"'You shall swear that with all expedition you shall give

notice and strait charge unto all such masters, mistresses, and dames within your parish as have in their houses or service any sojourners, servants, or other persons that do not orderly repair unto the church, according to her Majesty's laws and statutes in that behalf, and that they do discharge and put them out of their houses and service before the 26th day of November inst., upon pain of forfeiting of 10*l.* for every month for every person they or any of them do keep contrary to the said laws and statutes. And that neither the same masters, mistresses, nor dames, nor any other do receive them again into their house or service until they have made open manifestation of their conformity in religion. So God Almighty you and by the contents of this Book [*sic*].

"'To the minister, curate, and churchwardens of ——

"'You are to give strait charge to all such masters, mistresses, and dames in your parish as have in their houses or service any sojourners, servants, or other persons that do not orderly repair to the church, to discharge and put them out of their houses and service before the 26th day of November inst., upon pain of forfeiting of 10*l.* for every person for every month. And that neither they nor any other do receive them again until they have made open manifestation of their conformity in religion.

"'And you are to make and keep a special note what day and to whom you give such warning, and of the names of such sojourners, servants, and other persons as you shall so charge them to avoid; and whether the same shall be so put away before the said 26th of November accordingly or not.

"'And whether such person so put away before the said 26th of November shall be again received by those who put them away, or by any other, reformed or unreformed, and who so receiveth them and who shall be so received.

"'And you are to make certificate of the premises unto us under your hands in writing, fair written, upon the last day of November inst.

"'At York, this 3rd day of November, 1599'" (no. 32. fol. 55).

"19*th March*, 1599 [1600].

"Also a letter sent from my Lord President and the Council

with certain articles in the same enclosed was read, the tenour whereof hereafter followeth.

"'To our very loving friends the Lord Mayor of the city of York, the Recorder, and the Aldermen of the same city, or to any eight, seven, six, five, four, or three of them.

"'After our hearty commendations unto your lordship and the rest. Whereas we have heretofore received from you certain presentments upon articles directed unto you in August last, for such recusants and mendicants as were then discovered to be remaining or commorant within the city of York and the county thereof, and forasmuch as it is the duty of all Christian magistrates to have a care of the good education of all youths and children within their charge, that they may be instructed and seasoned at the first with the true knowledge of God and His religion, whereby they are liable to become good members of the Church and common weal, and dutiful subjects to her Majesty and the State, and therefore to prevent the danger of such youths and children, whose parents are recusants or non-communicants, by Popish schoolmasters, in such superstitious and false religion, we have thought good and do hereby authorize your lordship and the rest that you do with all convenient expedition convent before you at such place as you think convenient within that city and the county thereof, all ministers, curates, churchwardens, constables, sidemen, and other sworn overseers in the several parishes, chapelries, and hamlets within the said city and the county thereof, and to take them sworn upon the holy Evangelists, truly to inquire upon the articles herein inclosed, and to make their presentment of the same unto you within such time as you shall appoint, you giving unto the said ministers and sworn officers a true copy of the said articles, and also of the names of such recusants and non-communicants as are expressed in the minute herein stated to be dwelling or commorant within their several parishes or chapelries, to the end that they may prosecute such of the said recusants and non-communicants or of any other, being recusants, as have any children to be inquired of and prosecuted by power of the said articles. We earnestly require your lordship and the rest to use such expedition in the

inquiry upon these articles and the receipt of the presentment thereof, that you may certify the same unto us, under your hand and seal safely sealed up, before the 24th day of April next, and for the doubling of your lordship's especial care herein, we bid you heartily farewell. At York, this 14th day of March, 1599.

"'Your very loving friends,

"'THOMAS BURGHLEY,
THOMAS HESKETH,
J. FEARNE'" (fol. 80).

"'To our trusty and well-beloved the Lord Mayor of the city of York, and the Aldermen his brethren, or to any eight, seven, six, five, four, or three of them.

"'By the Queen.

"'Trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well, and for diverse good causes and considerations our President and Council in the north especially moving, We will and require you, and by virtue hereof, authorize, straitly charge, and command you that you immediately upon the sight hereof do as well call before you all such persons as are named in a schedule here inclosed, to be bound for their appearance. And them and every of them to take severally bound by recognizance, with sufficient sureties in good sums of money to our use to appear before our President or Vice-President and Council, at our city of York, the 9th day of March next coming, there to answer unto such matters as shall be objected against them on our behalf, and upon their appearance do not depart without licence of us and our said Council first obtained, and also all such other persons as are named in another schedule here inclosed for educating of children, and them to take severally bound by recognizance in good sums of money to our use for educating and bringing up of their children, according to the form of a recognizance here inclosed. And all the same recognizances so by you taken and put in writing, to certify unto our said President or Vice-President and Council, at our said city of York, at or before the said 9th day of March next coming. And if any of them do resist to enter bond as aforesaid, them to send in sure and safe custody unto our said President or Vice-President and Council, there to

answer their said contempt. Fail ye not hereof, as you will answer at your peril. Given under our signet, at our said city, the 16th day of December, the forty-third year of our reign.

"'And by her Council.'

"'A note of such persons as are to be taken bound for education of their children.

"*St. Maurice's parish.*
"Catherine Parkine, widow.

"*St. John's at Ousebridge-end.*
"George Powle.
"Thomas Porter.
"Thomas Powle.

"*Bishophill newer.*
"Thomas Taylor.
"Dorothy Browne, widow.

"*Allhallows on the Pavement.*
"John Wright.

"*St. Denis'.*
"Roger Lee, doctor in physic.

"*Ainsty.*
"James Thwaites, Esquire.'

"'A note of such as are to be taken bound to appear before the Lord President or Vice-President at Council.

"*St. Margaret's.*
"Thomas Barker.

"*Thorparch.*
"Reynold Conset.
"John Dunwich.'

"'*Apud* [ ] *die* [ ] 1600, *de* [ ] *in Com. Ebor.*

"'The condition of this recognizance is such, that if the above bounden [ ] do from henceforth educate and bring up

his children in the knowledge and profession of the religion established in this realm, and not in Popish religion or in recusancy, and also if the said [ ] shall not permit and suffer [ ] said children to be put into any service where their master, mistress, or dame is, or there shall be, a recusant or non-communicant, or to be taught by any schoolmaster but such as are or shall be allowed to teach by the Lord President, or Vice-President and Council, or by the Lord Archbishop of York, or the Ordinary of the place. And lastly, that the said [ ] shall not send [ ] child or children, or permit them to go beyond the seas or out of the realm without sufficient licence, according to the law in that behalf. That then these recognizances to be void. Or else the same to be in force.'

"Catherine Parkine, *non est invent.*

"Thomas Barker, *mortuus.*

"George Powle, Thomas Porter, Thomas Powle, in prison for recusancy, called, refused to be bound, sent back with the gaoler. Thomas Taylor, Dorothy Browne, refused to be bound, sent to the Council. John Wright, Roger Lee, and James Thwaite, bound for their children. Reynold Conset and John Dunwich bound to appear.

"These five bonds certified" (fol. 138 *b*).

"'To our trusty and well-beloved the Lord Mayor of our city of York, and the Aldermen his brethren, or any two of them, whereof the Lord Mayor to be one.

"'By the Queen.

"'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we, our President and Council in the north, did heretofore award several commissions unto you to take all such recusants and non-communicants within your several divisions, as then had children, bound by recognizance in good sums of money to our use for the educating and bringing up their said children in the religion now established according to the form of certain recognizance then therewith sent, and that thereupon certain persons were taken bound accordingly and their recognizance certified unto us and our said Council, and for that we and our said Council are desirous to have the said children educated and

brought up in true knowledge of God and their dutiful obedience to us and our laws, and for that also we and our said Council do earnestly desire to know what good effect the same hath wrought since they entered the same recognizance, we therefore will and require you, and by virtue hereof authorize, straitly charge, and command you that you, within your several divisions, with all convenient speed, diligently and carefully, by all the best ways and means you can devise, as well by the others of ministers, curates, and churchwardens, as by examination of other witnesses or otherwise, do make inquiry, search, and try out how the said recusants and other persons so bound as aforesaid, whose names are expressed in a schedule here inclosed, have made performance of the conditions of the said recognizance, a transcript whereof for your better [guidance] we have also herewith sent unto you, and that done we will that you do make true, evident, and plain certificate unto us and our said Council upon the 14th day of March next coming, how the said persons and any of them have particularly performed the conditions of the said recognizance, and wherein they or any of them have infringed the same. And hereof we command you not to fail, as you will answer the same at your peril. Given under our signet at our city of York, the 16th day of December, in the forty-fifth year of our reign.

"'And by her Council.'"

"'*December*, 1602.

"'The Justices of Peace are to inquire whether these persons, being bound for education of their children, have made a performance of the conditions of their recognizances, according to the transcript of the condition of a recognizance herewith sent.

"'John Wright, of the city of York, hath three sons and seven daughters.

"'Roger Lee, doctor in physic, one daughter.

"'Thomas Killingbeck, of the city of York, hath divers children, not named.

"'Christopher Hutton hath divers children, not named.

"'Reynold Conset, of Thorparch, hath one son named Reynold, but what other children not named.

"'James Thwaites, of Marston, esquire, hath six children, viz.: William, Francis, Jane, Elizabeth, Mary, and Ursula.

"'The condition of this recognizance is such,'" [&c., as above] (fol. 241 *b*).

"18 *Decembris*, 1601.

"And now a letter and certain articles from my Lord President and the Council to my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and Aldermen were read, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth.

"'To the right honourable our very loving friend the Lord Mayor of the city of York, and our very loving friends the Recorder and Aldermen, justices of peace within the said city and Ainsty, or any two of them.

"'After our hearty commendations to your lordship and the rest. Whereas of late years there hath been great declining by many of her Majesty's subjects in this north part from the religion established, in not repairing to the church to hear divine service, and many of them drawn from their allegiance by the seditious practices of Jesuits and Seminary priests, sent in secret manner from beyond the seas, to the dishonour of Almighty God, the discontentment of her Majesty and danger of the State, for the suppressing of which enormity we did about six years since commit to your good care and diligence certain articles to be inquired of concerning the number of recusants, receiving of priests, entertaining of Popish schoolmasters and servants, secret or clandestine marriages, or secret baptisms of children, upon which presentments we do prove that such reformation hath not ensued as was expected, and therefore we, being desirous to understand the true state of these things, and how the number of recusants or the offenders aforesaid is increased or diminished with you, that we may take such further order as shall be most convenient to remove those enormities, have thought good to commit again to your care (wherein we require you to be very diligent) the articles here inclosed to be inquired of, and herein authorize you to convent before you, at such places as you shall think meet within the city and Ainsty of the city of York, all and singular ministers, curates, churchwardens, constables, sides-

men, and other sworn officers of the several parishes, chapelries, and hamlets in the said city and Ainsty; and because the same is evidence for her Majesty, we do require you to take the said ministers, curates, and officers aforesaid, sworn by their oaths upon the holy Evangelists, truly to inquire and present within such time as you shall appoint all such offenders and offences contained in the said articles, giving unto the said ministers and sworn officers true copies of the said articles, and that they do plainly and exactly set down the names, surnames, additions, qualities, and degrees of the said offenders and their families. And we further require you and every of you that if you shall perceive convenient to be made in the presentment by any of the said ministers, curates, or any of the other officers, of any offenders or offences mentioned in the said articles, whereas it is presumed that some of you, being very near inhabiting, cannot be ignorant to examine and interrogate them, particularly of such persons so known or suspected to have been concealed. And we do further request you, after the receipt thereof, that the same may be by you, or any three of you, certified unto us under your hands and seals secretly, and safely delivered up before Monday in the second week of Lent next, to the end we may take further order therein as shall be meet and convenient in that behalf. And so nothing doubting of your good care herein, we commit you to the protection of Almighty God.

"'At York, this 20th of November, 1601.

"'Your very loving friends,

"'THOMAS BURGHLEY.

J. HALES.

J. FEARNE.'"

"'Articles given in charge by the Lord President and others of her Majesty's Council in the north parts to all Justices of Peace in the county of York, mayors, and other good officers of towns incorporate, to cause inquisition and presentments to be made unto them by the ministers, curates, constables, churchwardens, and sworn men within every parish, chapelry, town, and hamlet within the limits of their several divisions and liberties upon their oaths:

"'*Inprimis*, to inquire what recusants, either men, women, wives, or servants remain or are dwelling within the precincts of your parish or chapelry that come not to the church according to the law, and for what time have they so forborne; and also what persons above the age of twenty years, remaining or dwelling within your parish, have not received the holy communion within the space of one year last past within your parish church or chapel, and of what date, degree, or condition are they of.

"'*Item*, what Jesuits, Seminaries, or other strange persons do resort to the houses of any person or persons within your parish, and to whose house or houses do they resort, and what are their names, and for what times have they so resorted, and whether do such strange persons during the time of their abode within your parish or chapelry forbear to come to the church.

"'*Item*, what masters, mistresses, or dames do retain or keep in their houses or service any schoolmasters, or servants, or other persons that forbear to come to the parish church or chapel according to the law; what are the names of such schoolmasters or servants, and how long have they forborne, and how many months hath any such master, mistress, or dame retained or kept in their house or service any such schoolmasters or servants, and how many schoolmasters are in your parish or chapelry, and what are their names.

"'*Item*, what persons do you know to have been married by Popish priests, and otherwise secretly married, and not according to the form of the Book of Common Prayer; and what are the names of the parents or other persons that have been present, or privy, or anywise attending at or unto such secret or unlawful marriages solemnized to your knowledge, or as you have heard, and of whom have you or they heard the same.

"'*Item*, what persons have caused their children to be baptized after the Popish manner, or otherwise secretly, and not at the parish church or chapel; who were present at such baptisms and did baptize, and what children were so baptized, and where and when was such baptism ministered.

"'*Item*, what persons within the precincts of your parish or chapelry, which since the month of August, which was in the

forty-first year of her Majesty's reign, have repaired to your parish church or chapel, and have heard divine service, are now become recusants, or do forbear to come to your church or chapel upon Sabbath days and other holidays, and what are their names and dwelling-places, and how long have they forborne to come to your church or chapel.

"'*Concordat cum originali,*

"'J. FEARNE.'" (fol. 181 *b*).

To these letters, for which we are indebted to the city records of York, we are tempted to add another, taken from the Book of Entries (1538—1631, fol. 122), preserved in the Record Room at the Town Hall, Great Yarmouth. It is a specimen of the commissions issued by the Privy Council for the banishment of priests.

"A commission to banish Jesuits and Seminary priests, or any other religious person having received orders at Rome, &c.

"Whereas his Majesty, by his letters patents of commission under the great seal of England, dated the 23rd of June, 1618, did give full power, warrant, and authority unto us, and the rest of his Majesty's Privy Council, or to any six or more of them (whereof the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, or one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries to be two) from time to time, and at all times hereafter, by writing under the hands of us, or of any such six or more of us as aforesaid, to exile and banish out of and from his Majesty's realms of England and Ireland, and all other his Majesty's dominions belonging to the same, so many Jesuits, Seminary priests, and other religious ecclesiastical persons whatsoever made and ordained according to the order and rites of the Romish Church, as then were in any sort indicted, convicted, or attainted of or for any high treason or other offence whatsoever; and also all other Jesuits, Seminary priests, and persons ecclesiastical or religious above said, then being in prison; and also all Jesuits, Seminary priests, and other persons ecclesiastical or religious above said, that then were, or thereafter should come, or be within the realm of England, whether they should happen to be in prison or

out of prison, as to us or any such six or more of us as aforesaid, should be thought convenient or fit to be so dealt withal. And that to be done either particularly or generally, and in such order, manner, and form, and under such conditions, prescriptions, and limitations, as we, or any such six or more of us, should set down in writing, signed with our hands, as by the said commission more at large appeareth. Now know ye that we whose names are underwritten, according to the power and authority given unto us, in and by the said letters patents of commission and by authority of the same, have banished and exiled, and by these presents do banish and exile, from and out of his Majesty's realms of England and Ireland, and all other his Majesty's dominions belonging to the same, these persons particularly and expressly named (that is to say) John Turner, George Palmer, James Hargrave, N. Clitheroe, prisoners at York, and John Wright, prisoner at Yarmouth, and N. Smyth, prisoner at Duresme, being all of them Jesuits, Seminary priests, or other ecclesiastical persons, made or ordained according to the order or rites of the Romish Church, and being all of them imprisoned for treasons, felonies, or other offences by them committed contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm.

"And we do, by the authority aforesaid, straitly charge and command all and singular sheriffs, bailiffs, gaolers, and keepers of gaols and prisons above named, and all other persons that stand charged or chargeable with the custody or keeping of any the person or persons aforesaid, that they deliver, or cause to be delivered, unto Leonard Joyner and John Poulter, messengers of his Majesty's chamber, all and every the persons above named.

"And we do also, by virtue of the aforesaid commission, charge and command by these presents the said Leonard Joyner and John Poulter to convey the said prisoners to the next adjoining port and to see them shipped, to be transported out of his Majesty's dominions, and to bring back a certificate unto us of the place and time of their embarking, subscribed by the officers of the ports.

"And we do also straitly charge and command all mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, vice-admirals, customers, comptrollers, searchers, bailiffs, constables, and all other his Majesty's officers

and ministers whatsoever, that they do quietly permit and suffer all and every the said persons to ship themselves and depart out of the realm into the parts beyond the seas, according to the tenour, effect, and true meaning of these presents. And these presents, or the enrolment or duplicate thereof, shall be as well unto the said mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, vice-admirals, customers, comptrollers, searchers, bailiffs, constables, and all other officers and ministers, and to the said Leonard Joyner and John Poulter, and to all and every of them, as also to all masters and owners of ships, merchants, factors, mariners, and other persons, for the conveying and transporting of them out of his Majesty's realms and dominions, and also to the gaolers and keepers of prisons, &c., for delivering them out of their charge and keeping, as aforesaid, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. Dated at the Court of Whitehall, this 19th of February, 1620.

"Fr. Verulam, *Ca*[*ncellarius*].	Henr. Mandeville.
J. Arundell,	Pembroke.
Lenox.	Kellie.
H. Southampton.	Doncaster.
T. Edmonds.	Geo. Calvert.
Leonard Cranffeilde.	J. Digbye."
H. Falkland.	

To this we add an entry in the York Housebooks, which shows in an amusing way that the number of indictments against Catholics there must have been considerable.

"22° *Martii*, 25° *Elizabeth*, 1583.

"And now a bill of costs concerning tolls of Ripon and executions of certain statutes merchant against Constable and Laiton, and for parchment for making indictments against Papists was now exhibited to these presents by Mr. Belt, amounting to the sum of 46*s.* 1*d.*, whereupon it is now agreed by these presents that the said sum shall be forthwith paid by the chamberlains to the said Mr. Belt" (n. 28, fol. 94 *b*).

Before we turn to the ancient prisoner in Ousebridge Kidcote, we may insert here two passages from the Housebooks,

which relate to bolts, manacles, and collars, and a pair of great stocks: and we end with a significant permission to the prisoners to elect some one who might with a basket angle for them for the alms of the passers-by.

"15° *Decembris*, 21° *Elizabeth* [1578].

"And now also it is agreed by these presents that six pairs of bolts, two pairs of manacles, and two collars shall be made forthwith of certain old iron now lying upon the bridge, and the same to be made and provided for the due correction of persons in the sheriffs' Kidcotes, and to remain in the custody of the same sheriffs, and to be delivered over from sheriffs to sheriffs by indenture for ever. And the same to be at the sheriffs' charges, saving only 10*s.* of the Chamber charges" (n. 27, fol. 125).

"12° *Junii*, 1596.

"*James Burkbie, Lord Mayor the second time.* Also it is agreed that the Kidcote and the various locks, fetters, and bolts for the same, lately broken in pieces by the prisoners, as this court is now informed by Mr. Sheriff, shall be forthwith repaired of the Chamber's charge, and that a pair of great stocks shall be made or bought at the bishop's prison, if any there be to be sold, for the Kidcote, and Mr. Chamberlain Hawkeswirthe and Mr. Chamberlain Aunshall are appointed to attend to that business, and so to the discharging of the money in that behalf" (n. 31, fol. 189 *b*).

"12° *Januarii*, 41° *Elizabeth*, 1598.

"Agreed that good strong double inner doors should be made of the Chamber charges in the women's Kidcote" (n. 31, fol. 393 *b*).

"27° *Novembris*, 22° *Elizabeth* [1579].

"Agreed that the prisoners in the Kidcote shall have one who they will appoint to gather with a basket together such rewards as every well disposed person will bestow upon them" (fol. 196).

NOTES BY A PRISONER IN OUSEBRIDGE KIDCOTE.

From the Original Manuscript at Stonyhurst College.

10th of December, 1594.

ABOUT twenty years since, Doctor Vavasour, being as a banished man from his own house, coming home in secret, was bewrayed by a schoolmaster, who detected him to the Council, upon which present search being made by the Lord President's gentlemen and others, very fearfully raging about every place of the house with naked swords and daggers, thrusting and porring[1] in at every hole and crevice, breaking down walls, rending down cloths, pulling up boards from the floors, and making such spoil of their goods in such cruel manner, that the gentlewoman his wife, and his children, being so frighted with fear lest they should have slain her husband, that thereupon she lost her wit, being extremely possessed, lay bound for the space of a quarter of a year, and in her raging detected [*i. e.* disclosed] many secrets. The search lasted a whole day, yet the secret place being so politicly devised, they could not find him, and being made certain that he was in the house, they did not depart until the Lord Mayor was willed to command watchmen with halberts to be set about the house, thereby to make him yield by famine, which so remaining that night and the next day, he yielded himself to the watch the sooner for saving a priest which was with him. The watchmen, sending word to the Council, was

[1] *Porr*, to push or thrust. *Cornwall.—Halliwell.*

willed to carry him to Doctor Hutton, the Dean, who entertained him very courteously, and there [he] remained two or three days in conference with him. From thence being sent to Alderman Brooke's, where remaining about a quarter of a year, and then sent to Hull Castle, where being close prisoner for the space of eight years, [he] there ended his life. Yet they let him come home from the Dean's to his wife to such time as she was mended, and then committed him as aforesaid.

Sir John Bowlton, priest, committed the first year of her Majesty's reign, first to York Castle, from thence to Ousebridge, where he remained ten or twelve years close prisoner, and from thence removed to Hull Blockhouse, there remained about eight years, and then banished beyond the seas.

Sir Nicholas Grene, priest, being committed twenty-eight years since to Ousebridge, where he remained five years, and then died.

Sir Henry Comberforth committed prisoner to Ousebridge twenty-six years since, where he remained six years; from thence removed to Hull Blockhouse, remaining there close prisoner about ten years, and there died.

Sir Thomas Bedall committed to Ousebridge the same time, and in like manner removed, and died in Hull Blockhouse.

Thomas Bell,[1] committed twenty-four years since to Ousebridge, where he lay all one cold winter, as hath been seen of continuance of frost and snow in the stocks, divers preachers coming the same time to confer with him; then afterwards removed to the Castle.

William Tesimond, saddler, sitting the same time in

[1] At the top of the paper there is written in another hand, "All that is crossed deserveth no record, because the parties proved not well unto the end." Crosses are put to the names of Thomas Bell, William Tesimond, and apparently to that of Thomas Harwood. Thomas Bell, an apostate priest, became a notorious spy. It is instructive to learn the treatment to which he was subjected before he fell.

the stocks with him so long, being removed with him to the Castle, and from thence to Hull.

Stephen Branton, Jeffrey Stephenson, William Brinsley, and Oliver Walker, committed twenty-four years since to Ousebridge, where they remained close prisoners about three years; then removed to the Castle, and from thence to Hull. Stephen Branton removed from Hull to York Castle again, and there died, after twenty years' imprisonment. The said Jeffrey Stephenson being thrust down into a low vault at Hull, by reason of cold and noisome vapours and damps, lost the use of all his senses, and so shortly after died.

Thomas Harwood, committed about eighteen years since to Ousebridge, where he remained about ten years; then being accused by one Pennyngton, who was in the same prison for debt, for writing of Mrs. Clitherow's book of her life, and arraignment at the bar before the judges, was sent for to the Council, and thret [*i.e.* threatened] to lose his life unless he would go to church, at which he yielded to go to a sermon, hoping thereby to have free liberty; which when he had so done, they kept him, notwithstanding, at the pursuivant's, and would have him to receive with them too, but that he would not consent to, and repented that he had done so much, who then committed him to the Castle, and putting him in the low prison, [he] shortly after died there.

About sixteen years since, there was divers men of the city who had their wives Catholics, to the number of sixteen, which was committed to prison for that they would not pay, according to the statute, *12d.* for every week for their wives not coming to church. So they were forced to pay or [ere] they could be released, some *40s.*, some more, some less; neither was their wives free from prison.

Mr. Dobson, *alias* Wright, and Sir Thomas Mudd, priests, being apprehended at Mr. Tankard's at Boroughbridge, was brought to York with a vestment upon him,

and were committed prisoners to Ousebridge, which, after two years there remaining, was removed to Hull Block-house, where they were close prisoners the space of seven years—Mr. Mudd until he died, and Mr. Dobson until he was banished.

Alice Simson, committed seventeen years since, yet remaineth in prison upon Ousebridge.

Alice Williamson and Annes [Agnes] Johnson, committed about the same time, after two years' imprisonment died there.

Mrs. Foster, committed the same time, within a year's imprisonment died in prison.

Agnes Fuister, committed fifteen years since to Ousebridge within two years' imprisonment died.

Thomas Layne committed fifteen years since, within a year's imprisonment died.

James Wethereld, gentleman, and Etheldred, his wife, and Elizabeth Reade, their maid, were committed fourteen years since, and within four years after were released upon bonds.

Mrs. Vavasour, Mary Hutton, and Alice Ouldcorne, committed the same time, and after seven years' imprisonment, being shut down on a cold winter night without their bedding into a low, filthy prison, where they took their death with cold, and coming up sick, they all died within three days.

There hath been within this fourteen years about thirty women committed to Ousebridge, whereof there is eleven of them dead, besides those above named, some gotten liberty, and some remaining in prison yet. They being all put together by themselves, the martyrs' heads standing on stakes upon the leads of the house where they were, it chanced that they were taken away, for which they were all examined, and charged that they [were] accessory of the fact, and [they] would have sworn them, but they all refused. Then they put them down into the low,

filthy prison, and they remained there twenty weeks, where they could not see at noon time of the day to eat their meat without a candle, their beds being loathsome with filth by reason of drouge,[1] and very evil noyed with thieves and naughty packs.

Within three years after, being mo[re] martyrs' heads set up in their places, it chanced they were gone in like manner, whereupon, as before, they were examined, and offered the oath, who, refusing, was thrust down into the low prison again. Mary Hutton, having the highest chamber nigh unto the heads, they did charge her most, and said she could not, should not, excuse herself any way to be unguilty of that fact: "therefore you had best confess, or else you shall hang by the neck." She said again she would not accuse herself: if they could prove anything, [let them] do what they could. Then they put her in prison with the rest, she having, at that time, three of her youngest children with her, the eldest of them not above nine year old. The magistrates caused them to be sought forthwith, and brought before them, and had caused the four bedells to be ready there against they came, every one of them having a great birch rod in his hand to terrify the children, and make them confess whatsoever they would demand.

And first they began with fair speeches, and promised them new coats and other things; but the children, having their eyes of the rods, doubted more to be bett [*i. e.* beaten] than receive any gifts. Demanding of the eldest boy when he helped a priest to say Mass, the boy answered he knew not what it was. One of them said again: "Yes, my boy, let me hear, as thou can[st] say '*Confiteor.*'" "I cannot say it," said he. "Then thou liest," said he. "Hast thou not seen the priest have on a silk gown,

[1] *Drouze* is not in Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary;* but in Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latinum Anglicum* there is "*Droze*, fortasse latrina, nostratibus hodieque *a draught.*" The word is allied to *dross*, filth.

wrought with gold, and holding a little round white cake over his head, and a silver cup?" "No," said the boy, and brast [*i.e.* burst] out and wept. "Weep not, boy," said he; "I warrant thee thou shalt not be bett, if thou wilt tell me truly one thing that I will ask thee. Did not thy mother make thee take the heads down off the stakes?" "Yea," said the boy. "And who did help thee?" "Margaret Luetie and Alice Bowman."

Upon which words, they charged the maids earnestly, and Alice Bowman, which was not then above eighteen years old, they did twitch her fingers with a cord to make her confess. And when they could not make them confess, they reviled them most shamefully, and called them . . . . and such like, and sent Margaret Luetie to a prison called Beanhills, a good space distant from the city or any company—a little tower in a stone wall, low upon the moist ground, where venomous vermin doth breed, very dark, having no light but a little loop-hole in the wall—where she remained eleven weeks. And they made her lie four nights without any bed, one of the bedells being her keeper, who came to see her sometimes once of a day, sometimes once in two days, and very straitly used her for her diet. Alice Bowman [was] sent to a place called Little Ease, which is in Monk Bar, where she was little better used, but that she was near company, and the place not so noisome. The Lord Mayor took the boy home with him, and kept him as long, and had one always to keep him. And one time they brought in a box with breads that they had gotten in [some] search, and he called the boy to see them, and said: "Lo, Jack, thou knowest what these are well; what dost thou call them?" and gave him one in his hand. "I know not what they are," said the boy; "it is like paper." And thus would they have made the poor boy their instrument to know things.

The next day after Mr. Purfray, one of the Council,

came to Ousebridge to the gaolhouse, accompanied with Sergeant Moore and Mr. Cottrell, examiner, with divers others, inquiring for William Hutton's chamber. [They] found him sitting with an old-psalter[1] in his hand. [They] demanded if his name were William Hutton, who answered, "Yea, forsooth." "What is that book," said he, "you have in your hand?" "It is an old psalter," I said. "It is a good book," said he; "but methinks St. Jerome's psalter were more necessary for you to use." Then he began to tell of the clemency and mercy that the Queen's Majesty had showed towards us, and said if we did persevere still in obstinacy, she would execute her laws more severely, and many other circumstances. Then he said: "I have a further matter to say to you touching the heads which is gone. I understand your wife's chamber is next adjoining to the place where they stood, and it is known, by evident proof, that she was of concert of taking them away, which she doth deny; and it is a contempt of law; therefore I would wish you [to] cause her to confess the truth; else it will be worse, both for you and her." "Sir," quoth I, "I will not urge her to confess anything against truth, for I think you have no evident proof, but of a boy's words of nine years old, which spoke them of fear, and the magistrates might have blushed to set them down in writing, who would have confessed anything they would have demanded; and if it please your worship to take the pains to go and view the place, you will say it is a thing impossible, and I hope you will never deal further in the matter." At which saying he went; and when he had viewed it, he confessed as much as I said.

Shortly after, I wrote a letter to the Castle, to Francis Hemsworth,[2] touching the affairs of our house, in which

[1] In all probability it was a Jesus Psalter, a favourite book among the Catholics in the time of persecution, and looked upon by Topcliffe and his class as an unfailing sign of Popery.

[2] *Supra*, p. 92.

I craved their prayers for my wife and my boy, and told them the Lord Mayor had taken him home, and I doubted [not] would bring him up with lying, for he had put it in practice already; which letter was intercepted in the way by Stock, who was then an officer at the Castle, and carried it straight to the Council; whereupon, I, being sent for, came before Mr. Meares and Mr. Purfray. Mr. Purfray said: "Hutton, I offered you favour when I was in your chamber, but I perceive you will not accept it." I said: "Sir, I thank you; I would willingly do anything that is lawful for me to do, not offending my conscience." Then said Mr. Meares: "Hutton, what letters have you written of late?" I paused a little, and then I said: "I wrote one yesternight for Mrs. Vavasour, touching one of her children that is going to service." "And what did it signify?" said he. "Nothing but for buying a doublet and other necessaries." "Yea," said he; "and under pretence of that doublet you had to convey other matters." "No, truly, sir," quoth I; "I had no such meaning." "And what other letters wrote you beside?" "None, sir, that I can remember." "Advise yourself well, and speak a truth." "I cannot remember any." "Do you know your own handwriting if you see it?" "Yea; I think so." Then Mr. Purfray showed me the letter, and I confessed it. "Why, then, did you deny it?" "Because I could not remember it." "You do slander the magistrates in saying they learn your boy to lie." "I do not slander them in saying a truth; and I trust they will lose no credit by it at your hands." "Go to," saith Mr. Meares; "you are a subtle sophista." "Truly, sir," quoth I, "I never professed that art." Then he began to make a song, and said: "I will not be of Hutton's religion, for he is a liar." Then they called in my keeper, and commanded him to put me in the low prison, and gave him charge, as he would answer them, that I should have neither pen, ink, nor paper.

Sir Richard Thirkeld, priest, [a Remist *in marg.*][1] twelve years since being apprehended in a house upon Ousebridge, by one of the sheriff's sergeants, upon our Lady's day in Lent, [1583] being searched, they found two keys about him; then carried to the Council, where he was kept all night. The next day, being examined, and after brought to prison to Ousebridge, the sheriffs and aldermen searching divers places for his chamber and chest having his keys, having found them, they opened his chest, and got two or three suits of Church stuff, his books, his bedding, and all his other furniture of household stuff. In searching, they searched William Hutton's house for his chamber, where they found a secret place with a trunk full of books, which they brought presently to the market place and burned them. He remained in prison until the gaol delivery, the week after Whitsun week, and then being removed to the Castle, was condemned and executed. A great stir there was about giving him a priest's cap into prison, because he came before them priest-like.

Sir Michael Bowton, priest [an old man *in marg.*], about thirteen years since being apprehended and committed to prison to Ousebridge, was called before the judges the next assizes after, and because he would not tell them his place of abode, they burned him through the ear for a rogue; afterward being sent to Hull Blockhouse, and there remained until he was banished.

Ten years since, there were eleven men in the low prison—John Hewit, Edmund Jackson, William Jackson, Thomas Harwood, William Branton, John Golthwaite, William Bowman, John Wood and John Wood [*sic*], Thomas Pearson, and William Hutton, which was agreed by the Lord Mayor and his brethren, and certain articles

[1] Father Grene says that this paper by William Hutton was sent to Rome by Father Holtby, and he adds that these marginal notes are in Father Holtby's hand.

set down by indenture. First, that we should be locked down from the grate, that we should receive no common charity of well-disposed people. Secondly, that we should have the low door open at six o'clock a morning and six at night, to take in water and other necessaries, and to search it for letters or notes, and to know from whence it came. Thirdly, that none should come to speak with them, but he should be searched, and carried to a justice to be examined. Fourthly, that William Hutton his children should have no access to him nor his wife, nor that they should not be brought up with them. Fifthly, that they should have neither pen, ink, nor paper among them. This continued in force for the space of one year and thirty weeks, until they were ashamed at the voice of the people.

Margaret Clitherow, apprehended in her own house eight years since, the first week in Lent, [March 10, 158$\frac{4}{0}$] the secret place of her house bewrayed by a boy, and great spoil made of Church stuff and books, was committed to the pursuivants until the assizes; who then was brought to the Common Hall before the Judges, and there was arraigned and condemned for harbouring Mr. Mush and Mr. Ingleby, priests. Her judgment was given to be pressed to death because she would not be tried by God and the country; but she was not terrified with it, but very joyful. From thence committed to Ousebridge, being pinioned her arms with a cord; dealt money liberally all the way to the poor, and there she was locked in a parlour, with one Yoward and his wife to accompany her, who was for debt. She remained there twelve days after she was condemned, having Bunny, Wiggington, Pease, and other preachers daily resorting to her, using what means they could to dissuade her, that she might save her life; but she willed them not to trouble her, for she would not hear them. Yet they ceased not to trouble her day by day; and when

they saw she made no account of their prating, and would not hear them, they would kneel down before her, shedding out tears, crying out, "The Lord illuminate your heart," reiterating it oftentimes over. And when they saw they could by no means prevail, they used slanderous speeches against her, and said she was reported to be of evil demeanour with priests, using more familiarity with them than with her husband, providing dainty cheer for them and simple cheer for her husband, and willed her to ask her husband forgiveness. She answered: "I do not depend upon the judgment of men, but of God. If I have offended my husband, touching disobedience in [any]thing that is lawful, I will willingly ask him forgiveness; but for defiling his bed, and your other slanderous reports, I need not, and God forgive both you and those which make any such report."

Then they willed her to claim the benefit of her condition to save her life, but she said, "I will neither say that I am with child, nor I am not, for it is to me uncertain." Her diet was all that time but once on the day a mess of gruel pottage. She sewed her winding-sheet that time [with] her own hands. When the day came of her execution, being the Annunciation of our Blessed Lady [1586], the sheriffs came early in the morning to bid her prepare herself to die about nine o'clock. She said she was ready when [it] pleased them. Then the sheriffs came again at the hour appointed, and led her over to the Tollbooth, to the place of her execution. [There] was there present the sheriffs and their officers, and two of Mr. Cheek's men, who was sent of purpose to see her executed, and one Frost, a minister, who they sent to instruct her, but she refused him utterly. After her prayers said, she requested the sheriffs that they would for womanhood suffer her to have some women[1] there at putting off her

[1] Hutton is not quite in accordance with Mr. Mush's narrative in some of these particulars.

clothes, and that the men should not be present there; but [they] would admit her but one woman, neither would they be absent themselves. When she saw it would no otherwise be, she made her ready. Then they laid her down on her back. They said she must be naked. She desired [them] to let her die in her smock. They would not, but [would] have her naked to the waist. Then, lying down on the ground, they bound both her arms, one to one post and the other to another, with cords. Then they laid a sharp stone, which they had made of purpose, at her back against her heart, and a door above her body. Then the officer brought great stones to the value of five or six hundredweight; and at the very pang of her death she cried, "Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, help me! blessed Jesu, I suffer this for Thy sake," and so yielded her spirit to God.

Robert Bickerdike,[1] apprehended about eight years since, and accused for being in company with Mr. Boast, priest, committed to the Counter of Ousebridge, where he remained a year; then called at the assizes to the Common Hall before the judges—for there they sit upon Monday for the city gaol—to answer his indictment, was cleared by a jury, having no evident proof, and discharged. [They] sent him again to the gaol to Ousebridge, but having another adversary which sought his death upon occasion of a word speaking against his daughter, a minister's wife, framed a new indictment against him upon certain words he should speak in a figurative manner to a merchant man in the city, which he applied to the Spaniards coming in. I have forgotten what the words were, but in this manner I remember. It was about Michaelmas, and he said, "Well, now the sap is in the root, but in the spring of the year it will begin to spring up again;" and upon these words he framed his indictment, and caused him on Thursday after to be sent for

[1] *Supra*, p. 90.

to the Castle, and there to answer this matter before the judges. The sheriffs of the city, hearing of this, came to his chamber searching what he had, taking a gold ring off his finger, his money, and his apparel, and then sent him to the Castle. There brought before the judges, his indictment upon these words read, being demanded if the Pope and the Spaniard should come to the field to make wars against the Queen's Majesty of England, whether part he would take, he answered, even whether as God would put him in mind. And then they said he was a traitor, and deserved to be hanged. Then the jury going to consider upon his indictment and these words, the judges giving them a watchword, came to give their verdict and found him guilty. Upon which he being arraigned and condemned, and judgment given to be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, and there to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The words which he spoke to the minister's wife was these. At that time, when Sir Francis Ingleby, priest, was to come over Ousebridge on a hurdle to execution, Robert Bickerdike going over the way to the Tollbooth, the minister's wife in the street in his way said to her sister who was with her, "Let us go into the Tollbooth, and we shall see the traitorly thief come over on the hurdle." "No, no thief," quoth he, "as true as thou art," and no mo[re] words but these, which was supposed was the cause of his death, her husband and father being in such credit with the ministry.

Sir William Wilkinson[1] [an old man *in marg.*], fourteen years since was taken on the Assumption day of our Blessed Lady at Dr. Vavasour's house at Mass, and eleven more, *viz.*, James Wethereld, gentleman, and his wife, Mrs. Vavasour and two of her daughters, Mrs. Brogden, William Hutton and his wife, John Wood, Elizabeth

[1] "3° *Feb.* 25° *Eliz.* [1583.] Also it is agreed that William Wilkinson, clerk, lying now at John Trewe's house in ward, shall be removed to the Sheriff's Kidcote." York Housebooks, n. 28, fol. 90.

Reade, and Jane Ellerthorpe, by the sheriffs, Alderman Birkby, Alderman Maltby, and Alderman May, with many others, who searched the house, took the vestment, the chalice, and all the church stuff, brought the priest through the streets with the vestment upon him, and two wax tapers carried before him, being mocked and spitted upon with vagabonds; the rest of his company following next after, with a great troop following them. Coming to the Lord Mayor, there being appointed to sundry places until they were examined; then committed to Ousebridge, some to the Counter, some to the Kidcote. At Michaelmas next following brought to the sessions before the Lord Mayor and Justices, there indicted for hearing Mass, sent again to prison, demanded every Sunday if they would go to church. At Lent assizes next after brought before the judges at the Common Hall, there arraigned of the indictments, a jury impanelled, verdict given "Guilty of hearing Mass," 100 marks[1] fine for every one, and 80*l.* for four months not coming to church, sent again to prison, and there remaining.

Sir Anthony Wilkinson [an old man *in marg.*], Sir John Marshe [a Remist], and Sir Edmund Sykes[2] [a Remist], priests, being apprehended about nine years since at sundry times, committed to Ousebridge close prisoners, was within half a year after called to the Common Hall before the Lord President and the Council, who sat in commission, and told them they were to be banished within such a time, and willed them to prepare themselves. Then they were sent back again to prison, and within five or six days next after were banished beyond the seas.

Thomas Bowes, a young man, apprehended three years since, committed to Ousebridge close prisoner, within half a year after was called to the assizes before the judges.

[1] As the mark was 13*s.* 4*d.*, the fine of 100 marks was 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

[2] Edmund Sykes was banished in 1585, and returning to the English mission soon after, suffered martyrdom at York, March 23, 1587.

Being demanded of his state and dwelling-place, and because he could not show any place of abode, they charged him with carriage of letters and conveying Seminary priests from place to place, and found him in the degree of a rogue, and burned him through the ear and let him go at liberty. Shortly being apprehended again and committed to the castle, where in like manner [they] called him before the judges, and found him in the second degree of a rogue, and burned him in the hand, and set him again at liberty, and told him if he were brought before them the third time he were by the statute in case of felony, and to be hanged.

Dorothy Browne, a widow, dwelling in the city, having five small children, is bound from assizes to assizes to appear before the judges, and committed every time to Ousebridge, prisoner for her conscience. Her friends making suit for her liberty, she is exacted every time to pay to officers for fees, contrary to equity or ancient custom, to the value of 16*s.* or 18*s.*; and having nothing to relieve herself and poor children but only brewing, the Lord Mayor will not suffer her to brew any longer, but hath discharged her, and saith she shall not have any benefit of any occupying or traffic within the city, because she will not obey the Queen's laws and come to the church.

The said Dorothy Browne being committed to prison, except she would either go to the church or else put in sureties that she should not brew any more, a poor man being alliance[d] to her, carrying her five children before the Lord Mayor to crave pity in their behalf for their mother, the Lord Mayor looking upon them was stricken in a great fury against the poor man, and said: "Thou varlet rascal knave, why dost thou bring these children to me? Dost thou not think that I have more pity on them than thou hast? Their mother doth deserve no favour, nor none shall have. All these men," pointing to the low prison with his hand, "where there is condemned felons and

other malefactors . . . hath not committed so great offence as she doth. Take the knave," saith he, "and carry him to ward, and have the children home whence they came." This he spoke yesternight in the audience of forty persons.[1]

Father John Ingram, priest, being apprehended in the north country, brought to York to the Lord President, where he was kept in his porter['s] lodge about two months close prisoner, having secret conference with Dr. Favor and others, and dealt withal both with lenity and extremity, when they had used all the means they could, and could not prevail against him, they sent him to London to the torturers, where he hung by the joints of his fingers and arms in extreme pain so long that the feeling of his senses were clean taken from him. After that they sent him again to York, where he was committed to Ousebridge, kept there close prisoner in low stinking vault, locked in a jakeshouse the space of four days, without either bed to lie on or stool to sit on; from thence carried into the north pinioned with a cord, where he was apprehended, committed to Durham gaol, brought at the assizes there before the judges, condemned, and executed.

Until this last Parliament the prisoners of Ousebridge was so hardly dealt withal that they could not look out at a window to call for any necessaries, or to contradict the sergeants in anything although it were false, but they would thrust them down into the low vaults. And also every one that were committed by the Council or Commissioners or any other Justice, they would have put them down into the low prison, and laid fetters on both their legs if it had been in the coldest time of winter, and not suffer any to speak with them; and when entreaty was made for their easement, they would make it very difficult, and say they had so strait commandment given by the Council or Commissioners to do it that they durst not ease

[1] This paragraph is written on a separate paper, and at its end there is written, "I pray you annex this to the other."

them, which was nothing true but to make their more gain. So every one paid for their easement of their irons, some 20*s.*, some a mark, some 10*s.*

These are the most that I can remember to set down, and where they are not set in good order, I trust you will make better *congruentia* of them when you peruse them over.

NOTE.—Father Grene has given in his volume *M* some information respecting many of the persons who died in the York and Hull prisons, taken from his volume *F*.

"John Pearson, a venerable old priest, was imprisoned for many years at Durham, for refusing to attend heretical services. After enduring with great patience the close confinement of an underground dungeon, he was removed to another far worse, and thrust among a set of thieves. This was done at a time when he was suffering from a burning fever. Here, as if the very filthiness of the place with its accompaniments were not torture enough to a refined man of advanced age, the thieves, out of mere malice, became his tormentors. For while he was taking his meals, they, like so many dogs utterly devoid of all sense of shame, did not hesitate, before his face, to yield to the necessities of nature, and thus by their open filthiness, caused him such nausea that he could not retain the poor nourishment he had taken. By this more than savage treatment received at the hands of these pitiless wretches, he was, before many days were passed, worn out, and so passed to a better life.

"Thomas Ackrick, a religious priest, renouncing liberty and living, and constantly professing the Catholic faith, was committed to York Castle, and being of the Order of barefooted friars, he observed that rule always in prison, going to bed at seven o'clock, and rising at midnight, giving himself devoutly to continual prayer till four o'clock in the morning. Then taking a little rest till six, he passed all the day in virtuous exercises of prayer and divine studies, and comforting his fellow-prisoners. He was never seen to be unoccupied but in time of meat. He was removed from

York Castle to the North Blockhouse of Hull, where after a certain time, continuing in his godly life and rejoicing to suffer for his Master's sake, he fell sick, and, suffering all the pangs of sickness patiently, departed this life [1585].

"John Akrige, priest, was born and brought up at Richmond, and falling into schism lived many years curate under several parsons, unto the rising of the Earls, at which time he was reconciled to the Catholic Church, and for that cause was taken prisoner and carried to York Castle, to be put in irons, being of very weak health, where, and afterwards at the North Blockhouse and Castle of Hull, he remained in prison till his death, which was in the year of our Lord 1585, the 2nd day of March, at six o'clock after dinner. He gave all that he had unto Catholics, and wished to die rather in prison than in any other place.

"Mrs. Dorothy Vavasour, wife unto Thomas Vavasour, doctor of physic, encouraged much her good and virtuous husband to be constant in the Catholic faith. Being fallen very sick, and, as some thought, distracted by great sufferings in divers kinds for her religion, after some time saying our Blessed Lady's Office upon one of our Lady's days, she was suddenly restored to perfect health, both of body and mind. After which time she did give herself wholly unto the service of God. Living in York, her house was the refuge for all afflicted Catholics, and specially priests, who were always most charitably entertained. In the year 1578, on the feast of our Blessed Lady's Assumption, many Catholics being met in her house to hear Mass, before this was begun, the sheriff of the town came and took the priest and several others, whom they carried to prison, appointing the gentlewoman to appear, when she should be called, before Sands, Lord Bishop of York. She did so, and behaved herself with great courage and constant profession of her faith and of her devotion to our Blessed Lady. By favour and intercession of friends, she was dismissed at that time, and continued or rather increased her accustomed devotion for three years, until she was again upon one of our Lady's feasts apprehended, together with her two daughters and many others, and carried to prison to the New Counter at Ousebridge. Her husband being prisoner for his religion at Hull and York, she sued for leave to go and see him, but could not obtain it. After his

death, she lived very virtuously for some years in the same prison, from whence in the year of our Lord 1587, she with divers of her fellow-prisoners was removed into the low Kidcote, in which strait and pestilent place she and many others fell sick, and contracted such diseases as never left them until their dying day. At length she was removed again to the same prison of the New Counter, where she yielded up her soul unto God the 26th day of October of the said year 1587.

"What has been said is explained by the following:

"This year John Wedall and Leonard Beckwith were chosen sheriffs at Michaelmas, who at their entrance did cruelly thrust down into the low place of Kidcote all or the most of the Catholic prisoners, especially women, whereupon they fell into sickness, most of them, for the place was infected with a prisoner who died there. Whereupon Mary Hutton, wife to William Hutton, a virtuous and constant young woman, died the 2[5] October, 1587. The next day died the reverend and devout matron, Mrs. Dorothy Vavasour. Also the day following died Alice Aldcorne, wife of Thomas Aldcorne, now prisoner at Hull. These were buried on Toftgreen, an obscure place near Micklegate-bar. Thus through hard usage and extreme dealing, these had their days shortened for professing the Catholic faith.

"Mr. Doctor Thomas Vavasour, a man both grave, learned, and godly, for his zeal and Christian fortitude in professing the Catholic faith, was forced to fly, and was banished in King Edward's days through the malice of heretics. Some of his greatest enemies craved him mercy afterwards, at his return in Queen Mary's time; after whose death, he openly professing and defending the Catholic faith, was much hated by heretics, who first framed against him a deadly excommunication, which was read openly in York Minster by one Moulton, sometime a religious man, but then a pestiferous apostata. After this the Sheriff of York, one Mr. Askwith, breaking into his house and not finding him there, spoiled the house so unmercifully that he left neither chair, stool, pillow, nor so much as the worst cushion to lay under the poor child when his loving wife should swathe it. About three years [after] this, my Lord President his men did invade his house, and beset it round about night and day with armed men,

insomuch that the good gentlewoman, his wife, for this fearful spectacle, and having three days and [nights] wanting sleep, went beside herself, the which her husband perceiving, came forth of his secret-place, and so was taken and committed to prison. Afterwards, by the intercession of my Lady Huntingdon, he was permitted to go home to his wife, and she came to herself again. Then he was committed the second time to Mr. Brook, in whose house he had been prisoner before. Here he so learnedly defended his religion against all who did impugn it, that it was reported he would turn the whole city if he were suffered to talk. And thereupon he was sent to Hull with a most strait warrant to be kept alone, excluded from all company (except his own boy), in Hull Castle one whole year, under a cruel and unmerciful keeper called Hawcock, who locked him up continually, but when his meat was brought unto him. At the suit of his brother and other friends, by reason of his infirmity and sickness, he was removed from Hull to be prisoner at his brother's house, under sureties to appear before my Lord President, when his day was expired, to get a new day. Hereupon, after some time rumour was spread that he had conformed himself, at which he was so troubled, that being come to my Lord President to get a new day, and hearing of this rumour, fearing scandal, be plainly refused to take any more days; and so was sent again to Hull, and was for some years kept prisoner in the North Blockhouse, where he passed all his time in virtuous studies, in contemplation and prayer, and in ministering physic unto his fellow-prisoners. He and all his company in that house remaining alive were removed to the Castle, where they were so close and pestered with so many beds in one chamber that it was impossible for old and diseased men to continue long. Here this constant confessor, being diligent in dressing the sore legs of some good aged priests, took a grievous sickness, wherein he, lying long with lingering pain most patiently, suffered both the absence of his dear wife, who could not be permitted to come to him, and all the pangs of sickness, until it pleased God to call him to His mercy, ending his life in this noble cause with a noble and valiant heart, worthy of the noble line from whence he descended, his father being a knight and his mother my Lord Windsor's daughter, a very good

and virtuous lady. He departed, the year of our Lord 1585, the 12th of May, and was buried in the churchyard of Drypoole, within the garrison walls of Hull.

"Mr. Thomas Mudd, priest, was a monk of the Abbey of Gervase, who hardly escaping death in King Henry's time, fled into Scotland, where he lived until Queen Mary's time, and was at length after her death entertained by the Lord Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, for his priest. After whose death he was apprehended saying holy Mass, and brought prisoner to York in his priestly and sacred vestments for derision, *anno* 1579, together with Mr. John Dobson, priest. This last was sent soon after prisoner to Hull. Mr. Mudd, being called before the Lord President, and Sands, Protestant Bishop of York, who hoped to baffle him in a disputation of controversy, did answer with great courage and prudence, and confounded the Protestant ministers, in so much that the said Bishop threatened to take other means to crush him. And so he did, getting him soon after to be sent to Hull Castle, together with five other priests, these four of them, to wit, Mr. Stephen Hemsworth, Thomas Ackridge, Thomas Mudd, and John Ackridge, under endurance, serving God the best manner they could, ended their lives. The other two were banished in August, 1585. Mr. Mudd, after a month's sickness, in great want of good attendance (although Mr. John Fletcher and Michael Tyrye, his fellow-prisoners, did serve him, and many other prisoners sick at the same time, with great charity as well as they could), Mr. Mudd, I say, died there September 7, 1583, about midnight, having given all the money he had to be distributed unto Catholics.

"Mr. Michael Tyrye, was born at Ripcarth, in Wensley-dale. He was brought up from his childhood in learning, although his parents were very poor, and studied at Oxford in Trinity College for four years, there made Bachelor of Arts. He was inwardly a Catholic from his childhood, but he did not profess it publicly until the year of Christ 1573, and near forty of his age. In the same year, being fully converted, he was sent for to Mr. Bell, then prisoner at the Castle of York, the 23rd of July, with whom he remained all that night. The next morning the gaoler perceiving it, and suspecting [him to be a Catholic],

apprehended him and carried him before the Lord President, who without any examen at all committed him to prison, from whence on the St. James his day, 25th of July, he was carried unto Bishopsthorpe, where, as before, he was committed unto the porter's lodge, and soon after examined. He confessed openly his faith, and especially the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and refusing to go evermore to their church or assemblies, because they had neither lawful priests nor altars nor sacrifices. His confession being written and his hand being set unto the same, Mr. John Walton, secretary unto Mr. Grindell, the Protestant Bishop, said unto him that he was in the highest degree a Papist, and that he would therefore, before it were long, sing *Miserere*. He replied that they had given him occasion to do that which was past, and if that God should permit extremities to fall upon him in that cause, he hoped by His grace to play the last part in the tragedy as well as he had done the first. After this and other such like discourse he was sent back to the porter's lodge, where he remained until warrant was made unto Robert Brook, then the chief sheriff of York, to set him in the stocks in the worst place of the low Kidcote. He was brought thither about six of the clock in the afternoon on St. James his day. The house, beside the vile odour in it, and too great a number for so little room, was full of vermin. The people were there all against him at his entrance, but after a day or two they loved him so well that they would do anything for him. Here he thought that he had quite lost his smelling by the excessive bad odour, but if it were so God of His infinite goodness restored it again. He remained in this place for the space of sixteen weeks. Then, by compassion of the sergeant, without any warrant, he was removed from thence unto the higher Kidcote. Here he was sent for once or twice unto Mr. Matthew Hutton, who used all means to pervert him, but all in vain. The 9th day of November, 1576, he was shifted from the Kidcote unto York Castle, where he was treated a little more humanely, but in great restraint watched and warded. *Anno* 1577, the 29th of January, he and nine others were sent unto Hull unto the North Blockhouse, where, not being able to pay the keeper what he demanded, they were kept in a moist low house without fire, light, beds, or meat.

John Fletcher and Michael Tyrye were separated from all other company for the space of four years. After, the said Michael, by strange oppressions and false slanders removed to the Castle, was cut off from all charity of benefactors, and lived for two or three years without the buying of any other food but bread, penny ale, and milk. He is at this present time[1] [1594] almost twenty years prisoner, and besides all the aforesaid sufferings he has suffered great impugnation of invisible enemies, yet hopeth by God's grace for perseverance.

"Mr. John Almond, priest, religious of the Order of Cistercians, grave, wise, godly, and zealous in the Catholic cause, though not so learned, he could by no imprisonments, no threatenings, or fear of death, no fair promises of liberty, be ever moved to shrink in so noble a cause. When he did hear of any cruelty, of persecution, searches, or imprisonment of Catholics, he used to lift up his head and hands to heaven, rejoicing himself and desiring to suffer for Christ His sake, and with bold and cheerful speeches animating his fellow-prisoners to stand constant under the banner of Christ; for he had a singular mother-wit, his talk was wise, grave, and sententious, and seasoned with pleasant and merry conceits, always referred to a good scope and godly end. He was tried first in York Castle, tossed from thence to the Castle of Hull, thence removed to the Blockhouse, and finally brought back again to the Castle of Hull, where, though blind and crooked with old age, he was kept more strait than ever he was before, yet he suffered all most patiently. When by extreme old age, infirmity, and want of good tending, he was grown childish, and could no longer render himself the least service, it was not possible to obtain of the hard-hearted keeper to allow him a chamber apart, although Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Michael Tyrye, his fellow-prisoners, offered themselves to serve and tend him night and day, although the keeper was not able to abide the bad odour when he passed through the chamber where the old man lay, in which there were five and sometimes six beds, and some so old and sickly men that were not able to put off and on their own clothes. He departed out of this vale of misery when he was about

[1] Michael Tyrye forte scripsit hæc. *Fr. Grene's marginal note.*

four score years old, April 18, 1585, and was buried at Drypoole.

"Mr. Stephen Hemsworth, another very good and religious man, fellow-prisoner with Mr. Thomas Mudd, John Almond, John and Thomas Ackridge, and other venerable priests and confessors of Christ, died in the same North Blockhouse of Hull, after he had suffered many years imprisonment for his religion, having passed his time with great zeal, fervent devotion, sweet silence, pleasant quietness, and great charity towards God and all men. He died before August, 1585, when all the priests then living in Hull were banished, and not long before that year.

"John Gibson, a tailor, ignorant of all learning, suffering for the space of seven years imprisonment, divers times arraigned, most constantly stood to the Catholic faith. In time of his imprisonment wearing secretly a shirt of hair, at the end of seven years died in prison at Ousebridge in York [or rather, in Durham gaol], constantly professing his faith.

"Mr. William Bandersby, an old man and priest, was taken at Mrs. Watson's house by Sir Richard Malliver and Mr. Slingsby, brought to the Council at York and committed to the Castle. He was a man of sound and grave judgment, well read, and Master of Arts, devout and zealous in the Catholic faith, much given to prayer and contemplation. Falling sick he gave all he had to the Catholic prisoners, died in the Castle, April 21, 1587, and was buried behind the wall.

"Mr. Richard Bowes, an old priest, died in the Castle of York, August 31, 1590, and was buried under the wall. He was one of the vicars at Ripon Minster when the Earls rose in December, 1569, and never after would do any Protestant service or come to church with them, and therefore many years was driven from place to place, and lastly committed to York Castle.

"Stephen Branton died July 19, 1591, in York Castle, and was buried under the Castle wall, as others were. He had suffered about eighteen years in prison, at the Kidcote first, then removed to Hull Castle, then by the keeper, John Bisby, carried to the North Blockhouse, for that he could not give so much rent as the keeper asked, and there kept a long space in a low house by himself. After, he was removed from Bisby

to the South Blockhouse, under Hawcock, the tyrant, where he remained divers years. Lastly he was removed with many others to York Castle, where he died.

"Mrs. Anne Landers, in one of the cruel searches which the Lord President did continually cause to be made in and about York, was apprehended for her religion, together with many other gentlewomen, and committed prisoner to Ousebridge. Her husband, an attorney, was apprehended for going about to defend his wife by law, and sent prisoner to London, and condemned to the pillory; from whence, fearing the infamy of that punishment, he wrote to his wife to yield somewhat to the times in matter of religion, which was a cause to her of unspeakable grief and abundant tears for many days. At length she wrote back to her husband her resolute mind to suffer all manner of crosses rather than to offend Him who had died upon a Cross for her, and desiring him to do the like; and so he did, suffering patiently the punishment of the pillory for the cause above mentioned. After this she had liberty for a while, but being taken the second time she was committed to York Castle about the year 1579, where she did much good by example of her godly life and charitable works. From thence she was removed to the Castle of Hull. The terror and fearful report of the hard and cruel usage there of Catholics did not dismay her, being suddenly separated from her husband and children, and committed to a cruel and unmerciful keeper. There she lived five or six years, suffering with great constancy, patience, and Christian fortitude, and comforting all other afflicted Catholics, her fellow-prisoners, and relieving them with great alms. At the length she was called for by warrant to London to the same prison where her husband was, where she lived as godly as she had done before; and lastly they both departed this life in the Counter [or the Clink].

"Mr. Ralph Cowling, of the city of York, cordwainer, and one that had borne office in the city, flying from home was taken, brought to York, and much abused; some cast filth on him, others would have drawn him, and another taken with him, through the fires which then were made in the streets for triumph concerning the Queen of Scots [who died February 8, $158\frac{6}{7}$]. The

officers had much ado to get them safe to the Council, who committed Mr. Cowling to Dearman's house, the pursuivant; the other, Nicholas Brown, to the Castle. Mr. Cowling was finally removed to the said Castle, where he died, August 1, 1587, and was buried under the wall.

"William Chalner [? Challoner], and his sister Bridget, being both weak and sickly persons, here remained prisoners eight years at least, their father and mother both dying prisoners in the same Castle of York, and for the same cause of religion. [In a catalogue of Catholics who died in York prisons, I find John Chalmare, gentleman, died June 7, 1582, and Isabel Chalmare, the 23rd of July following. In another catalogue I find John Chalner and Isabel Chalner died in York prisons betwixt the years 1580 and 1590. I doubt not but these were father and mother to Mr. William and Bridget aforesaid. *Father Grene's note.*]

"One writeth from Douay, *anno* 1591, as followeth: 'Mr. Jackson, Mr. Elwish, Mrs. Bickerdick, Mrs. Bridget Matthew, William Walker, and William Gibson, all prisoners at this instant in York, and some of them have been for a long time. Also Margaret Stable, born a prisoner, whose father died prisoner in the same place, York Castle, and for the same cause, and as far as I can remember, her mother also died a prisoner. These prisoners above said are of the Castle only. Of other prisons I say nothing; neither of the Kidcote, being full of Catholic prisoners, nor of the Sheriffs' prison, nor of St. Peter's prison, nor of the pursuivant's house, which is the most full of all the rest, nor of the place called Little Ease, nor of the Bean Hill, all which places now and then want not Catholic prisoners.' [In a catalogue of prisoners for religion dead at York, I find John Stable and Margaret his wife dead, the 26th and 27th of July, 1584. *Father Grene's note.*]

"One Arthur Webster, out of spite unto an adversary who was like to cast him in a suit of law, left the Catholic religion and became an infamous apostata and a pursuivant, and apprehended his own mother, Mrs. Margaret Webster, with her daughter Frances, his own sister, and brought them both to the Council, who committed them to several prisons in York, where both

behaved themselves as most worthy confessors of Christ. Frances having understood that Mr. Fingley.[1] a virtuous priest, was put into a dark dungeon under her, found means to open a grate, and to let in some little light unto him, and besides her comforting speeches, she obtained a gown to defend him from the cold, and to serve him also for a bed to sleep on; and being examined for this fact, she confessed and gloried in it. She was removed hence to the Castle of York, where her mother was prisoner, to the exceeding comfort of them both. Here they with continual prayer and other diligencies reduced the old man, husband to Margaret Webster, unto the Catholic faith, which notwithstanding he did most miserably forsake again. Here these two happy women and glory of their sex were unto all their fellow-prisoners an example of good life and constancy in their sufferings for Christ, spending their time in continual prayer and in works of mercy to the poor, according to their ability, as they had done in all their lifetime. And this blessed maiden Frances, being come to a marvellous perfection, did most humbly abase herself to do any drudgery, wash dishes, sweep the house, or such other servile work in so glorious a cause. When God had called her happy mother on the 27th of May, 1585, this devout virgin seeing herself bereft of the comfortable company of so good a mother, and considering the lamentable fall of her father and the treachery of her brother, made continual prayer to leave this wretched world and to go to her Spouse Jesus, and she obtained her desire, dying in the said prison of York Castle on the 29th of June following, after a short sickness, endured with exemplary patience, and having received the holy sacraments which she had most earnestly desired. At her death she gave her whole portion to poor prisoners. Her ghostly father, a godly man, Mr. Birbeck, coming from her when she departed, said that he had seen such signs of heavenly grace in her, even till death, that if her soul were not in heaven, woe be to his soul.

"Mrs. Isabella Foster, wife to Mr. William Foster, of Huntingdon near York, and daughter to the holy martyr Mr. Richard Langley: her husband and she, being Catholics, fled from their house upon the apprehension of her father, *anno* 1586, and after

[1] John Finglow, or Fingley, was martyred at York, August 8th, 1586.

returning to see her house, was moved upon charity to see the Catholic prisoners and to relieve their wants with her alms; and being with child was desirous to crave their prayers. She was apprehended as she was coming forth of the prison, and carried before the dean, Mr. Hutton, who, for that she denied to go to their church, committed her to the Castle close prisoner, where virtuously and patiently she bore this with joy and comfort, desiring God to forgive those who sought her trouble and gave herself to prayer. Before her accompt, she fell into an ague through close keeping and the corrupt air of the house, yet she continued her zeal and devotion, and desired to frequent the sacraments. Before her death, she was heard to call upon her father, desiring him either to stay with her or to let her go with him: at which one of the standers-by said, 'I am here, what would you have me to do?' She said, 'I speak not to you; it is my own father; do you not see him there by you?' The next day she died, to the great comfort of the beholders, December 3rd, 1587, and was buried among the rest under the Castle wall.

"Mr. Thomas Rudall, an old priest, taken in Richmondshire, and committed to York Castle, where quietly he conversed, and falling sick, gave all he had to Catholic prisoners. He died April 11th, 1587, and was buried under the Castle wall.

"Mr. John Fletcher [wrote a relation of his long imprisonment. I think the original was sent to Rome by Father Garnet (or else a copy) which now is bound up in a book above cited of *Collectanea F*, p. 60. *Father Grene's note*]. Being brought before the Bishop of York, Mr. Grindall, about the 26th of April, 1574, and examined about several matters of religion, and answering undauntedly and smartly, he was committed a prisoner in York to the sheriff's house. After other encounters for eight days or more, he was sent to Peter's prison in the said town of York. Soon after removed to Ripon, there to be close prisoner in a close prison but seven foot long. There one of the bailiffs or keeper's men thought to stab him in his sleep with an awl, but the blow fell on a book which being in a pocket of his breeches lay upon him. After this he fell sick and seemed to be certainly poisoned. Being despaired of, and understanding they intended to give out

that he died Protestant, he wept most bitterly, praying God to spare his life in those circumstances. He was then suddenly and almost miraculously restored to his health. The bailiff, named Edmund Kersay, had promised the Bishop Grindall either to turn him or to kill him. The bailiff's house was so plagued with sickness and other troubles all this time that he exclaimed against Mr. Fletcher, cursing the day that he ever saw him. Being recovered he was removed to the Bishop's prison in York, where he was kept close in darkness for one quarter of a year and his wife kept violently from him. Thence he was removed to Hull Castle and shortly after to the North Blockhouse there, where he remained close prisoner for three years in so moist a house that in some parts the grass did grow green. Here his wife was falsely accused for a naughty woman to his incredible grief, the accusers fearing punishment ran away. Thence he was removed back to the Castle again where he remained quietly for a year. Then he was carried again to the North Blockhouse, where he and his chamber-fellow Mr. Tyrye were kept four years close prisoners in a moist and dampish house. All that time his wife remained prisoner in the Castle, but at last weary of so much suffering got her liberty by going to church, which was the greatest cross that her poor husband ever received. And moreover she was so incensed against him that she came not to him three days in nine years. Thus by the grace of God he remained prisoner twenty years, which he saith will be ended next Easter, for he wrote out of prison, continually suffering one cross or persecution on the neck of another. They also most frequently enticed him by fair promises and great offers if he would but yield, never so little, at least appear to yield, but he never would. In frequent encounters he used to baffle the ministers, and he was sure to be used the worse afterwards in prison. [Many other particulars he specified, which here I omit. He was born in York, brought up a Catholic by his parents, but perverted at Cambridge; brought back again by reading good books, one especially written *de schismate;* lastly, by a great sickness, Mr. Henry Cumberforth, a grave and wise priest, reconciled him. The whole relation is very judicious, but here is much abridged. *Father Grene's note.*]

"At the same Michaelmas to my remembrance the Lord

President went one night to Ardington Hall, and spoiling and breaking down the house, took place where one dame Isabelle Whitehead, a nun, lay sick in her bed. They stood over her with naked swords, and threatening to kill her unless she revealed where David Ingleby and Mr. Windsor was. Mrs. Ardington with the rest there taken were brought to York, and committed close prisoners to the Castle and other places. Dame Isabelle died there the 18th of March, 1587, leaving all she had unto the poor Catholic prisoners. She had been professed in the nunnery of Ardington, and after that was suppressed retained her state as well as she could. She was buried under the Castle wall.

"William Renold, a webster, dwelling at North Stanley, for not bringing his child to be christened in the Protestant church, was committed to York Castle, and thence to Hull Castle, and then thence to the South Blockhouse, under one Allcock most cruel to Catholic prisoners, lastly removed back to York Castle, among the Catholic prisoners, where, after a virtuous life, he died February 4, 1587, and was buried under the wall. Another [*uxor Lucæ*, judge of the city, *si recte lego. Father Grene's note*] died prisoner at Kidcote, March 19, 1587, and was buried on Toftgreen.

"Names of some committed to York Castle for refusing to go to church: Richard Barker, a tailor, August 5, 1587; Peter Knaesborough, yeoman, January 25, 1590; Mr. Thomas Barnbye, Esquire, and Mrs. Margaret Harpan, about March 11, 1590; Mrs. Frances Thorp, March 16. Mr. Thomas Bowes, about Lammas, 1590, was apprehended in York and committed to the Kidcote, and in October following was arraigned for not going to church, and burned through the ear as a rogue the 9th of October, and the 16th delivered out of prison. The 2nd of March following he was taken again, carrying over two scholars to Rheims. Refusing to go to church, he was cruelly dragged thither, then committed to the Castle of York, and loaded with irons in the low house among the felons for a long time. Being called to the Bar, he pleaded the statute to have his book, since they found him guilty to be hanged as a rogue. After much dispute and imprisonment, about the 10th of March, 1592, he had the favour to be burnt in the hand and then delivered.

"Mr. Thomas Blenkinsop, of Helbeck, Esquire, being prisoner for the Catholic faith in York Castle, I know not how long, became grievously diseased through the infectious air, and he obtained the favour to be prisoner in the city and help of physicians, but all in vain, for he died shortly after.

"Hercules Wellbourne, served his apprenticeship in York with Alderman Maltby. After[wards] setting up, the world did fawn upon him being a draper and freeman. After he became a Catholic he was soon apprehended and put in prison, when he passed away his stock and shop to his master for a sum of money; thence he was sent to Hull, and lived there many years under Hawcock, the cruel keeper. He procured by friends to be removed to York Castle, where he fell into a great infirmity of dropsy or gout, so that he was lame of both hands and feet, yet wonderfully patient he was never heard to grudge or murmur at his pain, which notwithstanding was very excessive great. At the going away of Francis Hemsworth and the rest, the gaoler put him in the low house with double irons, which merrily he suffered. By will he left [his money] to Catholic prisoners, and having received his last Viaticum, died October 22, 1588, very meekly. He was buried under the Castle wall with the rest."

"Fifty-eight were put in prison at York in the time of Archbishop Matthews, for refusing the oath of allegiance, and forty of them died in prison. Thirteen priests, who in the time of Queen Elizabeth subscribed an oath of like tenour to this oath of allegiance, having seen afterwards the Pope's briefs, refused the oath, and two of them, viz., Robert Drury and Roger Cadwallador, were put to death upon that account. Some were pressed by extreme hunger, others were forced to lie on the ground in the prison until their putrid flesh adhered to their clothes, and by the miseries of the place the infirm members of the sufferers became corrupted."

"Christopher Watson was born and bred at Ripon. He was a very rich merchant and very fortunate. He was very liberal and merciful with poor, which likely moved God to give him the grace to become a Catholic, as it happened to Cornelius: reconciled by Mr. Henry Comberford, a virtuous priest, who lived seventeen years prisoner for his religion and died so. After

his conversion, all his delight was to treat with poor, especially Catholics, and spend all he had in alms, leaving all vain company and vain expenses used before. God soon permitted him to be committed prisoner to the house of one Dearman, a pursuivant, *anno* 1580, a cruel fellow. Soon after he was set free, which lasted not long; and he was on St. Bartlemy's day in the same year carried prisoner to York Castle, a place which heretofore he so much abhorred that he used often to go out of his way not to come near it. But now he did receive wonderful comfort and joy in being with and relieving the poor Catholic prisoners and suffering for God, insomuch that the prison did seem unto him a paradise. He used daily, besides frequent other prayers, to say these psalms, expressing thereby the great joy of his heart, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra. Deus misereatur nostri. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.* He never heard the bell toll but he said *Angelus Domini*, for the great devotion he bore to our Blessed Lady, and for the joy he conceived for the Incarnation of Christ. He had care also that God should be served in his house, and kept there a learned and godly priest called Mr. Hartburne. It was meat and drink to him to go from chamber to chamber to visit the sick, and to comfort and relieve those who were in any affliction.

"God gave Mr. Watson in this place the comfort of having such a companion and chamber-fellow as his heart could desire. This was Mr. John Constable, a worshipful gentleman by birth, and a noble Christian by profession; in all Christian fortitude, almsgiving, and other virtues most like to Mr. Watson. Mr. Constable died there *anno* 1581. Mr. Watson departed there also in the same year, the 3rd of September. Being often abused and injured, he was never heard to speak an ill word, but to say 'God forgive them,' or the like.

"Mr. Anthony Aske, gentleman, was taken in Holden parish about Michaelmas, in the year 1586, and carried to prison in York Castle, together with Mr. William Sprott, and kept close prisoners, separate from the rest for a good space, until for money the keeper put them away among the rest, where Mr. Aske sickened and died the 5th of February, 1587, with so much devotion as was a great comfort to them all, and was buried behind the Castle wall. Mr. Sprott soon after was delivered upon bond.

V.

MR. JOHN MUSH'S LIFE OF MARGARET CLITHEROW.

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THE river Ouse divides the city of York into two parts, and until lately there was but one bridge over it, which taking its name from the river was called Ousebridge. While England was Catholic this bridge had an interest for the faithful from a grace that was attributed to the prayers of St. William. The whole city had gone out to meet the Archbishop on his return from Rome on the feast of the Ascension, May 8, 1154. The Saint preceding the crowd had crossed over the old wooden bridge, and as the people were following in multitudes, the bridge gave way under the pressure, and the mass of the people, including many women and children, fell into the stream. St. William made the sign of the Cross over them and prayed, and not a single life was lost. A chapel in honour of the Saint was built upon the bridge,[1] and the building was not taken down till very recent times. It had a beautiful Norman doorway and an early English window of three lancets, but its beauty and associations did not save it from desecration at the Reformation, at which time it became an

[1] "Stone bridges coming soon after into use, ours seems to take its date from about the year 1235, for I find that Walter Gray, then Archbishop, granted a brief for the rebuilding of Ousebridge, most probably of stone, by charitable contributions. *Anno* 1268 I read an account of the origin of a chapel on Ousebridge in the *Collectanea*, when there was a peace and agreement made with John Comyn, a Scotch nobleman, and the citizens of York (*mediantibus regibus Angliæ et Scotiæ*) for a fray which had happened upon the bridge and wherein several of John Comyn's servants had been slain. The said lord was to receive 300*l.*, and the citizens were obliged to build a chapel on the place where the slaughter was made, and to find two priests to celebrate for the souls of the slain for ever. How long they continued to pray for the souls of these Scots, or whether this is not the chapel which was dedicated to St. William, I know not." Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 280.

Exchange for merchants. It was utterly destroyed when the bridge was pulled down in 1809.

The old bridge was overturned in 1564, "when by a sharp frost, great snow, and a sudden thaw the water rose to a great height, and the prodigious weight of the ice and flood drove down two arches of the bridge by which twelve houses were overthrown and twelve persons drowned."[1] The small arches at the two sides remained firm, sustaining the chapel and other buildings; but a centre arch had to be built in the place of two that had fallen. It was handsomely done, and old York prided itself on possessing one of the finest arches in England, "eighty-one feet or twenty-seven yards from the first spring of the arch, and seventeen high."[2] This bridge was to the full as dear to Catholics as the old bridge that preceded it, for thirty-three priests were drawn over it on hurdles, and sixteen laymen in carts, on their way to the Tyburn at Knavesmire, and it was itself the place of the imprisonment of numberless confessors, and of the martyrdom of Margaret Clitherow. We proceed, in a pardonable spirit of antiquarianism, to draw from the City Housebooks the record of the rebuilding of the dear old bridge.

"14° *Junii*, 7° *Elizabeth* [1565].

"Assembled in the Council of Ousebridge day and year above said, when and where Leonard Craven, carpenter, was called before the said presents if he will undertake to work and finish his work at the jetty under Ousebridge, as it ought to be for voiding of the water, and he answered and said he had no doubt to finish the same, that the masons shall work dry there to set their foundation of the pillar of the bridge, so that he shall have such stuff as [he] shall need to the same, and thereupon the said presents were contented and agreed that he shall continue upon his work of the said jetty" (n. 24, fol. 12).

"10° *Aprilis*, 8° *Elizabeth* [1566].

"*Willus. Watson, Maior, &c.* Assembled in the Common Hall of this city, the day and year above said, with the most part of the Common Council of the same city the day and year above

[1] Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 280. [2] Drake, *ibid.*

said, for order of reparation to be made this year upon Ouse-bridge, when and where it was thought best and fully agreed, as well by all of the said Common Council as by the said Lord Mayor and worshipful presents with one assent, that with all godly speed the said work shall be set upon with masons and carpenters tapders [?], with provision of lime and stone; and by their best advice made up in one bow, according as by counsel of the most expert and politic men it is thought most expedient, ready, surest, and cheapest. Provided always that if by further occasion and foresight of the said Lord Mayor and worshipful it shall be perceived better [in] any other way or form, it is to be wholly referred to their discretion, with[out] further consent to be had of the said Common Council.

"*Item*, it is agreed that freestone ready sculpted and squared by advice of the mason, and lime shall be bought towards the said works of William Oldred; that is to say, the said stone after 3*s.* the ton, and lime after 5*s.* the chaldron, and so to be undelayedly delivered by the said Oldred at York Staith within this city of his proper costs and charges, by further discretion and order of my Lord Mayor and Chamberlains. And the said Oldred now present did willingly for his part agree unto the same.

"And that a cunning and expert carpenter for making a centrell towards the said reparation and bow shall be taken by advice of the mason that shall take the charge of the said work.

"And that immediately all manner of necessary stuff and provision shall be made for the better furtherance of the said work, and all other things required, by discretion of my said Lord Mayor and Aldermen" (n. 24, fol. 44).

"24° *Aprilis*, 8° *Elizabeth.*

"Agreed that John Todd, carpenter, who hath taken upon him to make the centrell of timber for the masons to set the arch upon for the stone bridge upon Ouse, shall have paid by the Chamberlains towards his pains taken therein 40*s.*, over and besides his day-tale wages, if it do appear that he desireth the same, or else it to be allowed in his wages; and when his work is well finished, then he to be rewarded accordingly.

"It is also agreed by these presents that Christopher Walmesley, free mason, shall be bound with good sureties, that is to say, three besides himself for the sure making of the said arch over Ousebridge according to his promise. And the said Walmesley shall have every week for his wages 6*s.* 8*d.*, and one other mason also that he shall name to have 6*s.* 8*d.* a week, and the rest of the masons to have weekly 5*s.* 8*d.*" (fol. 44 *b*).

"13° *Maii*, 8° *Elizabeth.*

"It was thought meet and fully agreed that the mansion house called St. George's Chapel, nigh the Castle Mills, shall be taken down, and all the freestone of the same to serve towards present reparation of Ousebridge. And all the residue of tile, timber, and stuff to be husbanded by the Chamberlains to the most profit of the city.

"And now also was read the draft of an obligation with condition whereby [Christopher] Walmesley, with two collateral sureties, is to be bound for the sure and perfect making and finishing of Ousebridge, as by the said condition may more at large appear; whereunto the said Walmesley now present did frankly agree.

"And it is now further agreed by all these said presents that the said Walmesley shall have, after the centrell taken from his work, if the arch shall stand sure and substantial according to his promise under bond, in reward of the Chamber 20*l.*" (fol. 45 *b*).

"17° *Junii*, 8° *Elizabeth.*

"Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, agreed that the Council Chamber newly made[1] shall be speedily painted with white and green panes[2] oiled, with the Queen's Majesty's arms, the Prince's arms, and the city arms at the higher end. And the painter doing the same cunningly and sufficiently, as it ought to be, to have therefore of the Chamber 30*s.* so soon as he hath finished the same" (fol. 47).

[1] In some place of the Housebooks, the reference to which has been lost, it is said that, while the Council Chamber was under repair, the tollbooth was used in its stead.

[2] "*A pane*, piece or pannell of a wall, of wainscot, of a glass window." Cotgrave, *Halliwell.*

"30° *Julii*, 8° *Elizabeth.*

"*Item*, whereas in the old bayle[1] there is a part of an inner tower called the bichedoughter tower, already shrunken from the city wall, and may be well taken away without enfeebling or greatly defacing of the said wall: it is therefore thought needful to take down the said broken tower and the stones therefrom coming to be carried and converted towards repairing of Ouse-bridge, which doth presently want stone meet for the first band.

"And for so much as the said Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Council in absence of the said Lord Mayor, did consider that through the taking down and carriage away of the said tower and stones, the grass of the said old [bayle] should be much defrayed, and for the time lie open therefore, for some recompense thereof, and to have the said Lord Mayor more willing to let the said tower to be rased, and to let the work-folk to have free passage and easement of the said old bayle whereof he is tenant by lease of the seal of office, he shall have the same lease renewed for twenty-five years under the common seal, when and where he shall see convenient after his mayoralty to require the same" (fol. 48 *b*).

Such were the arrangements made for building the bridge, and the mason intrusted with the work gave such satisfaction to the city that his name reappears six years later.

"28° *Martii*, 14° *Elizabeth* [1572].

"It is agreed by these presents that [Christopher] Walmesley, the mason, shall be paid his year's fee now due, and also 13*s.* 4*d.* as loan money" (n. 25, fol. 4).

"5° *Junii*, 14° *Elizabeth.*

"Forasmuch as [Christopher] Walmesley, free mason, is come to this city to see what reparations is there to be made, and because it is uncertain when he can be gotten hither again, it is therefore agreed by these presents that he shall now with all convenient speed repair Ousebridge where need is; and he to be paid for the same reparation from time to time by the Chamberlains" (fol. 15 *b*).

[1] *Bailey*, the spaces between the circuits of walls which surrounded the keep. *Halliwell.* It is evidently derived from *ballium.*

One of the chief contributors towards the expense of rebuilding the bridge was the widow of Alderman Hall, once Lord Mayor, who was called Lady Hall, in virtue of the York adage respecting their chief magistrates and their wives—

> He is a lord for a year and a day,
> But she is a lady for ever and aye.

A stone was put up on the bridge with an inscription in her honour; and in 1592, 14° *Junii*, 34° *Elizabeth*, it was "agreed that the Chamberlains shall cause the stone upon the top of the battlement of Ousebridge being loose, which was set up there in memory of my Lady Hall's gift towards the re-edifying of the same bridge, to be taken down and better graven, and to be well and orderly set up again forthwith of the Chamber's charges" (n. 30, fol. 330). The inscription was quaint enough:

> WILLIAM WATSON, Lord Mayor, *anno Dom.* 1566.
> Lady Jane Hall, lo! here the works of faith does shew,
> By giving a hundred pound this bridge for to renew.

The shell of the old chapel of St. William stood through all, and in spite of its utter change of purpose and its new dedication to the uses of buying and selling, it retained its name of the chapel. It had its little steeple, and in 1598, 17° *Januarii*, 41° *Elizabeth*, it was "agreed that the vane upon the top of this chapel steeple shall be set straight, or taken down and a new made and set up, if the old will not serve again" (n. 31, fol. 395 *b*). The steeple had held three bells, and in 1583 the city exchanged them for two from St. Saviour's parish, only one of which found its way to St. William's litttle steeple. The transaction is thus recorded.

"7° *Junii*, 25° *Elizabeth* [1583].

"It is agreed by these presents that for so much as there is received to the city's use two bells from St. Saviour's parish, it is agreed that the one of the same bells being riven shall be sold for the city's most advantage, the weight of which bells and also of three bells which were in chapel now delivered to the parish of St. Saviour's hereafter followeth:

"The weight of three bells which came from the bridge:
"*Item*, the first bell weighing 1 *c.* 3 *q.* 16 *l.*
"*Item*, the second bell weighing 2½ *c.* 16 *l.*
"*Item*, the great bell weighing 3 *c.* 1 *q.* 10 *l.*
"Sum in weight 8 *c.* 14 *l.*
"The weight of two bells received from St. Saviour's Church.
"*Item*, the first bell weighing 2 *c.* 1 *q.*
"*Item*, the second bell weighing 3 *c.* 3 *q.* 12 *l.*
"Sum in weight 6 *c.* 0 *q.* 12 *l.*" (n. 28, fol. 101).

Besides the bell, there was a clock in the steeple and there are various entries respecting it.

"27° *Aprilis*, 35° *Elizabeth* [1593].
"And whereas the inhabitants about Ousebridge have made their humble request and suit to this Court that the clock upon Ousebridge may be repaired, it is agreed that my Lord Mayor shall call John Newsome, the clockmaker, before him and speak with him touching the same and take such order therein as at his lordship's discretion shall seem meet, both touching the amending and repairing thereof, and also for keeping of the same to go in good order" (n. 31, fol. 10).

"23° *Maii*, 1593.
"And now it is agreed that John Newsome and his man Wilson shall amend the clock upon Ousebridge so as the same may go in good order, and shall have 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* forth of the chamber for their labours and pain therein. And from such time as the same shall be repaired they shall have 5*s.* a year forth of the said chamber to keep the same to go in good order (setting and daily keeping the same excepted)" (fol. 13).

"13° *Julii*, 35° *Elizabeth*, 1593.
"And now it is agreed that William Greneup the elder and William Greneup the younger, his son, shall keep the clock and dial upon Ousebridge, and ring the bell at four of the clock in summer and five of the clock in winter in the morning and eight at night, and that they shall have 26*s.* 8*d.* yearly fee for the same at Christmas and Midsummer by even portions" (fol. 17).

Besides St. William's chapel, the bridge held a considerable number of buildings both public and private. The most noteworthy of the former was the Council Chamber of the city, where all the proceedings were held which the Housebooks record, and where the Housebooks themselves and all the city archives were kept. This was the Lord Mayor's Court, and besides this there was the Exchequer Court, which adjoined the chapel, and there was also, as it would seem on a lower level, the Sheriffs' Court. Then there were the various prisons. On one side of the bridge was the debtors' prison, and on the other the Lord Mayor's Kidcote and the Sheriffs' Kidcote: and these two last were sub-divided into men's and women's[1] Kidcotes, and into upper and lower prisons. The upper prisons had a grate opening on the street at which prisoners might beg of the passers-by, and the lower were dark vaults close to the level of the river.

In addition to these abodes of misery the old bridge found room for a women's hospital called the *Maison Dieu*, the spelling of which name exercised the town clerk not a little (n. 28, fol. 48, 238 *b*, 245 *b*; n. 31, fol. 251). The form "Measondewe" doubtless represents the pronunciation of the time. A room over it was let, which may not have been altogether fair to the charity.

"1° *Julii*, 26° *Elizabeth* [1584].

"Agreed that Christopher Jackson, mercer, shall have a little chamber over the *Maison Dieu* as tenant at will, paying therefore yearly 5*s*. to the Common Chamber. And the poor women of the *Maison Dieu* to bring in their evidence" (n. 28, fol. 245 *b*).

Speaking of prisons, "John Trewe's house" on the bridge is frequently mentioned. In fact, John Trewe farmed a private gaol, and a singular portion of the arrangement was that prisoners who wished to be transferred to better quarters than the miserable Kidcote, paid the cost of fitting up this private prison.

"Also it is agreed by these presents that John Trewe, cordwainer, shall be farmer of the new house builded on Ousebridge,

[1] "12° *Jani*, 41° *Elizabeth* [1598]. It is agreed that a good strong double inner door shall be made of the Chamber charges in the women's Kidcote" (n. 31, fol. 393 *b*).

and the chambers over the Exchequer of the same bridge within this city of York, and the same house and chambers to be gaol houses for the Mayor and Sheriffs of the city for the time being. And the said John Trewe to enter to the said house and chambers at Martinmas next, and to have and hold the same of the Mayor and the Corporation of this city, paying yearly for the same to the use of them and their successors 6*l.* at Pentecost and St. Martin's in winter by even portions; provided always that the prisoners now remaining in the same chambers over the place and Exchequer, who made cost of repairing the chambers, shall have the same during their natural lives, if they be not delivered or discharged of their said imprisonment, they paying therefore yearly 3*s.* 4*d.* at the days due and accustomed for the same. And upon condition that the said John Trewe shall become bounden with good sureties yearly to the Mayor and Sheriffs of this city that shall be, in the sum of 200*l.* or more at their discretion, for all the prisoners that shall be at their charges" (n. 25, fol. 148 *b*).

John Trewe was succeeded in his amateur gaolership by Christopher Fordam.

"*Item*, it is agreed that Christopher Fordam shall be tenant at will, during the pleasure of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Privy Council of this city, of the house and all the chambers over the chapel and Chequer Chamber, which were late in the occupation of John Trewe. And he to pay to the use of this corporation four marks of lawful English money in hand, and 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly for the same.

"Also it is agreed that Peter Smithe shall have the same four marks and 13*s.* 8*d.* or more to make up five marks for his good will of the same tenement, and for and towards his charges which he spent in and about suing to be tenant of the same, and in respect that he was promised some favour therein" (n. 29, fol. 134).

"3° *Martii*, 1597.

"And whereas John Jackson, merchant, and Edward Birletson have made suit to this Court to have a lease of the gaol house

tenement upon Ousebridge wherein Elizabeth Fordam now dwelleth, it is thought by the most voices of these presents that the said John Jackson is a meet man to have the same place and not the said Birletson; notwithstanding no full agreement is as yet concluded by these presents in that behalf" (n. 31, fol. 330).

"6° *Martii*, 1597.

"Also it is agreed that the tenement upon Ousebridge late in the tenour [*i.e.* holding] of Christopher Fordam, deceased, and now in the tenour of *uxor* Fordam, and the stone pillar under the south side of the same, shall be viewed by Mr. Wardens of that ward and Mr. Sheriffs and Mr. Christopher Turner and they to certify in what decay the same is, and in what sort they shall think meet the same to be repaired" (n. 31, fol. 333).

Here is a specimen of the way in which John Trewe's house was treated as a prison.

"31° *Augusti*, 22° *Elizabeth* [1580].

"Forasmuch as George Goodyeare of St. Sampson's parish, being called before these presents for refusing to pay to the poor, hath this morning called together divers of the parishioners of St. Sampson's by tolling of the bell, and also hath now spoken and given divers evil and unseemly words to these presents, and also hath discouraged others to pay to the poor, therefore it is now agreed by these presents that the said Goodyeare for his said offences shall be forthwith committed to ward to John Trewe's house, there to remain as close prisoner, saving his wife to come to him, and before his releasement he to be bound with sufficient sureties for good abearing against the Queen's Majesty and all the citizens of this city" (n. 27, fol. 249).

But the prisons seem to have been used for the confinement of poor lunatics also, which must have been as bad for the lunatics as it was for the prisoners.

"It was agreed by these presents that Agnes Egleston of St. Margaret's parish, who had weekly *2d.*, shall be paid weekly

from henceforth 6*d.* to be hers weekly, at Trinity hospital, and to begin the next week, and the other relief to cease. Also it is agreed that John Trewe shall have 4*s.* paid him for keeping of the said Agnes in her madness since Monday was a sennight, to be paid forthwith by the chamberlains" (fol. 217).

"And it is agreed that a coat of grey of 2*s.* a yard shall be provided of the Chamber's cost for the madwoman in the Kidcote" (n. 30, fol. 128 *b*).

The intermediate space on the bridge was occupied with shops, and here is a list of those who took them when the bridge was rebuilt, together with the rent they paid for them. The date is 8° *Jan.*, 9° *Elizabeth* [1566] (n. 24, fol. 60 *b*).

"South side, west end, 1st shop, 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, Mr. Willcock.

"2nd shop, same side, 10*s.* a year, James Wilkinson, girdler.

"3rd shop, same side, next the height of the bridge, 8*s.*, Guy Marshall, glover.

"North side, west end, 1st shop next the chapel, 13*s.* 4*d.*, Robert Beckwith, goldsmith.

"2nd shop, same side, 10*s.*, William Greenhope, glover.

"3rd shop, next to the height of the bridge, 8*s.*, Thomas Boothe, pinner.

"North side, east end, shop with a chamber next to Andrew Trewe's, 20*s.*, — Robinson, glass seller.

"2nd shop, same side, 20*s.*, William Wood, capper.

"3rd shop, with chamber next to it, 20*s.*, Reignold Holme's wife.

"Next shop to it without a chamber, 10*s.*, vacant.

"5th shop, same side, 10*s.*, James Hodgson, glover.

"6th shop, next to the height of the bridge, 8*s.*, James Fawcet.

"South side, east end, shop with chamber, 20*s.*, Mr. Greisdale.

"2nd shop, with chamber, 20*s.*, Robert Fawdyn.

"3rd shop, without a chamber, 10*s.*, Thomas Atkinson, merchant.

"4th shop, without a chamber, 10*s.*, Robert Cowper, fletcher.

"5th shop, next to the height of the bridge, 8*s.*, Ralph Elmeden, glover."

There was one other building on Ousebridge, more interesting to us than all the rest, as it was in it that Margaret Clitherow was pressed to death. That place was the tollbooth. For this word Dr. Johnson assigns no other meaning but that of a prison, but it is clear that the word originally meant the place where toll or custom was taken. Hutton's narrative shows us that the tollbooth on Ousebridge was open to the street, for the minister's wife said to her sister, when Francis Ingleby was going by to his martyrdom, "Let us go into the tollbooth and we shall see the traitorly thief come over on the hurdle."

From Mr. Mush's narrative we learn that the tollbooth where Margaret suffered was but six or seven yards distant from the prison. This means probably little more than across the street; and this agrees well with the mention of the place of the chain, where toll was taken.

"11° *Junii*, 33° *Elizabeth* [1591].

"Agreed that Martin Leeds shall have a lease of the chain at the far end of Ousebridge for one year from Christmas last past, paying 20*s.* at Christmas next, and so from year to year, at the will and pleasure of my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, he taking for every cart coming over the same bridge laden with coals 2*d.*, and for every wain 4*d.* and no more" (n. 30, fol. 242).

We may now conclude with all probability that, coming to the bridge from Micklegate, on the left hand—that is, at the west end of the bridge on the north side—were the Council Chamber, the Kidcotes, and John Trewe's house, the upper part of which[1] encroached on St. William's Chapel; while on the south side of the bridge, next to Micklegate, came the tollbooth, the Maison Dieu, and the debtors' prison. After these on both sides of the bridge three shops, and on the crown of the arch an open space. The eastern end of the bridge had six shops on the north side, the same side with the chapel, and five shops on the south side, the space of the sixth shop on that side being probably devoted to the steps leading down to the Staith or quay.

[1] This is shown in old prints of the bridge as having two gablets facing the river, under each of which was a low window with four mullions.

Having now done our best to construct our *compositio loci*, we may turn to the *dramatis personæ* and their kinsfolk.

Mrs. Clitherow's father was Thomas Middleton, citizen of York, and wax-chandler. He was admitted a freeman in 1530; he filled the office of chamberlain in 1552, and that of sheriff in 1564–5, and he was buried at St. Martin's, Coney Street, May 16, 1567. His will was dated December 14, 1560, and was proved June 10, 1567.

Gent, in his list of the sheriffs,[1] has put Oliver Middleton as sheriff in 1570, instead of Thomas, evidently because he had found in St. Michael's, Spurriergate, the inscription of an Oliver Middleton, sheriff of York, the date of which inscription he could not decipher. Oliver, however, was sheriff in 1504, and died in the year of his shrievalty; and in 1570 the sheriff was Thomas Middleton, tanner, whose son, Peter Middleton, also a tanner, was sheriff in 1618. Whether these were relations of Margaret Clitherow's father we do not know. The name of Middleton was not uncommon in York. Thus in January, 157$\frac{2}{3}$, there were several of the name assessed for the poor—John in the parish of St. Michael's at Ousebridge-end, Thomas in that of the Trinity in Micklegate, Thomas in St. John's at Qusebridge-end, and two Roberts in Allhallows in North Street, the one a tanner and the other a mariner. Then we come across a George Middleton,[2] draper, in 1585; Thomas, who was searcher of the coverlet weavers in 1584, and Agnes, a widow, who received 5*s.* compensation on being turned out of her house in 1592 by Ralph Dikes, who had bought it. It has been said by Mr. Nicholson, who edited Mush's *Life of Margaret Clitherow* in 1849, that "Mrs. Clitherow's representative in the paternal line is Peter Middelton, Esq., of Stockeld Park, Yorkshire." It is possible that Thomas Middleton, the Sheriff of York, was a younger son of this gentle and knightly family. The third son of Thomas Middelton of Stockeld, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, was called Thomas, and judging from the fact that his nephew William was squire of

[1] *Ancient and Modern History of York*, 1730, p. 220.

[2] This was probably Margaret Clitherow's brother. The parish register of St. Martin's has a large number of entries respecting his children.

Stockeld and Myddelton in 1585, when Glover, Somerset Herald, held his visitation of Yorkshire, there would seem to be nothing in the dates to prevent this Thomas from having taken up his freedom as citizen of York in 1530. It must be added that there would be nothing surprising, especially in those times, in a younger son being sent adrift to make his fortune in trade; still there is really no more reason, beyond the interest excited by Margaret Clitherow's martyrdom, for attributing relationship with the Middeltons of Stockeld to Thomas the wax-chandler, rather than to Thomas the tanner, or any other of the numerous Middletons who inhabited York before him and with him.

The election of Margaret Clitherow's father to the office of sheriff is thus recorded in the Housebooks of the city.

"*In festo Sancti Matthæi Apostoli, scil.* 21°. *die Septembris, anno* 6^to. *regni Elizabeth Reginæ* [1564].

"*Jacobus Symson, Maior, &c.* Assembled in the Council Chamber in the Common Hall of this city, the day and year above said, for the election of two sheriffs of the city, to be chosen upon four lyts [elects], put in to them by the Common Council and the eldest searchers of the thirteen and fifteen crafts assembled in the said hall for that purpose, according to the charter of election, who did by their most voices, according to the King's Charter or Decree, choose for their four elects Edward Richardson, pewterer, William Thomson, victualler, Thomas Myddelton, wax-chandler, and Gregory Paycoke, merchant. Of which four elects, this worshipful presents, by their most voices, have elect and chosen the said Thomas Myddelton and William Thomson to be sheriffs of this city for this year next to come. Which said William Thomson was sent for, and came before the said presents, and took the oath of sheriffship.

"And for that the said Thomas Myddelton lay upon his bed, sick in the gout, and could not come; therefore these worshipful presents agreed that Mr. Appleyard, Mr. Bean, and Mr. Watson, aldermen, Mr. Maskewe, sheriff, George Goodyere, Richard Aynlay, John Johnson, and divers others of the Common Council should go to Thomas Myddelton's house, to hear him take his oath accustomed, before whom the said Mr. Myddelton

took his said oath, to him given by the mouth of Thomas Faill, common clerk; and that done, the said aldermen and others above named returned again to the said Common Hall to the presents there assembled, and then and there declared all their doings in the premises accordingly" (n. 23, fol. 156).

"23° *Novembris*, 7° *Elizabeth* [1564].

"William Thomson, one of the sheriffs of this city, did now take his oath of the Privy Council of this city accustomed, and thereupon gave the wine. Mr. Thomas Middleton, the other sheriff, is respited of his said oath, for that he presently lieth sick" (fol. 162 *b*).

Thomas was a member of the Common Council of the city—"Commoners," the city called them—which body consisted of two representatives of each of the thirteeen principal crafts, and one of each of the fifteen lower crafts of the city. By his election as sheriff, he had become a member of the Privy Council, and his place in the Common Council was vacated. It was thus filled:—

"24° *Januarii*, 7° *Elizabeth* [1564/5].

"Of two elects, put in by the occupation of wax-chandlers, viz., James Best and John Hall, to the intent that one of them, according to the usage of this city, may by these presents be chosen to be one of the Common Council, of the said occupation of wax-chandlers, in room of Thomas Myddleton, now sheriff, the said James Best is by most voices elect to be in the said room of Common Council, and was here presently sworn after the order accustomed" (fol. 169 *b*).

The following is Thomas Middleton's will, extracted from the Registry of the Exchequer Court of York.

"*In Dei nomine. Amen.* The 14th day of December, in the year of our Lord God 1560, I, Thomas Myddleton of the city of York, chandler, of whole mind and good memory, being sick in body, do ordain and make this my last will and testament, in manner and form following: First, I bequeath my soul to God

Almighty and my body to be buried within the church of St. Martin, in Conyg[1] [*i.e.* Coney] Street, in the middle aisle before the high choir. *Item*, I give to my curate for forgotten tithes 5*s*. *Item*, I give to Thomas Myddleton, my son, one close lying in the horse-fair at Ripon of 14*s*. by year, in the holding and occupation of William Swayn, to him and his heirs lawfully begotten for ever, and he to enter to it at the day of my death. *Item*, I give to Jane, my wife, the residue of all my lands and leases during her natural life. *Item*, I give to George, my son, one house and two shops lying in the Market Place in Ripon, with five roods of meadow lying in the Upper Ings in Ripon fields, after decease of my wife, to him and his heirs for ever; and if the said George die before that he come to lawful age, that then I will and give the said lands to Thomas Myddleton the one moiety, and to Margaret Myddleton the other moiety, my daughter, and to their heirs for ever, provided always that if Margaret Myddleton, my daughter, die without any issue, then I will that it shall go to Thomas Myddleton, and his heirs for ever. *Item*, I give to Margaret, my daughter, one house lying in Davygate within the city of York, after decease of my wife, to her and to her heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and for default of such issue, then I will that it shall go to the right heirs of me, the said Thomas, for ever. Also I give to the said Margaret one silver goblet and half a dozen of silver spoons, provided always I will that my daughter Alice and Thomas Hutchonson, my son-in-law, be content with those goods that I gave him with her the day of their marriage for her full child's portion; and if that he be so contented, then I will that they shall have, over and besides that five marks that I put in his hands, with my son, Thomas Myddleton, and all the rents and fermes of his house, which he does owe unto me; and if that they be not so content, then I will that he shall recount and so to pay the aforesaid five marks, with the [ar]rearages of all the said rents unto mine executors; also I give to Alice, my daughter, as a legacy, four marks in money. *Item*, I give to William Hutchonson one silver spoon. *Item*, I give to Agnes Hutchonson one silver spoon. *Item*, I give to the four wards of poor folks within this city to every ward 3*s*. 4*d*. to pray for me. Also I give to Myles

[1] This shows that King Street is the etymology of the name.

and to Matthew and to Ellis, my servants, to enrich one of them one yow [? ewe] to pray for me. Also I do give to the residue of all my servants, to every one of them, to pray for me 12*d.* Also I will and do ordain and make supervisors of this my last will and testament Edward Turner and Thomas Jackson, and either of them to have for their pains 5*s.* The residue of all my goods and chattels, my debts paid and my funerals made, I do give to Jane Myddleton, my wife, whom I do ordain and make my sole executrix by herself.

"Witnesses of this my last will and testament:

"Sir Thomas Graison, my Curate,
George Cooke,
Richard Aynley, and
John Parker,

and every one of them to have for their pains 12*d.*"

"This will was proved in the Exchequer Court of York on the 10th day of June, 1567, by Jane Myddleton, widow, the relict of the deceased, the sole executrix in the said will named.

"Joseph Buckle,
H. A. Hudson, } Deputy Registrars."

The house in Davygate, here left to his daughter Margaret, was probably where he lived and where she was born, in the parish of St. Martin's, Coney Street. In accordance with this, we find the name of Thomas Middleton in Bothome Ward, to which this parish belongs, in a list of citizens who were bound, July 1, 3° Elizabeth, 1561, to furnish "thirty horse for my Lord President and his family riding towards Newcastle."

Of the mother of Margaret Clitherow, we know but little. Mr. Mush says that Henry May, who was Lord Mayor when Margaret was martyred, "had been raised to this preferment of worldly wealth by marrying the martyr's mother, a rich widow, who died before this tragedy in summer last." It does not look well that, as we learn from the register of St. Martin's Church, she should have married again within four months of her first husband's death.

"1567. Thomas Myddleton was buried the 16th day of May, *anno supradicto.*"

"1567. Henry Maye and Jane Mydleton were married the 8th day of September, *anno supradicto.*"

The entry of her burial is in the same register.

"1585. Jane Maye was buried the 12th day of June, *anno supradicto.*"

There was another Jane Maye, who was buried November 1, 1586, which was after Margaret's martyrdom. Her mother died about nine months before that event. Her stepfather died in 1596. Gent[1] gives his epitaph.

"Henry Maye, Lord Mayor of this Cittye in the xxviij year of the rayne of our most graciouse Queen Elizabethe, who departed this lyfe the fyrste of July, 1596."

He was buried the day after his death, as St. Martin's register shows.

"1596. Henry Maye, alderman of this city, was buried the second day of July, *anno supradicto.*"

Of this man Mr. Mush says, "The Lord Mayor, Mr. May, to show his gentle mind to the martyr's mother, which had taken him from the beggar's staff, made this his honourable table talk among his heretical brethren, that she died desperately, &c."

His wife's wealth does not seem to have done him much good, for we find that—

"21° *Aprilis*, 23° *Elizabeth*, [1591].

"Mr. Alderman Maye, being present in this Court, moved or requested by these presents to pay his arrearages, being 4*l.*; viz., for the poor for half a year *in anno* 1588, 26*s.* 8*d.*, and for a whole year *in anno* 1589, 53*s.* 4*d.*; and for Hull [as]sessment 3*l.*, and for the preacher for two years, ended at [ ] last past, 20*s.*, hath agreed willingly to pay the same, but allegeth that he is not able to make present payment thereof, and so hath requested the favour of these presents to give him reasonable days for payment thereof. Whereupon it is agreed by these presents that he shall have day to pay the same, by 40*s.* in the year, till it be paid, and that a bond shall be taken of him for payment thereof, to be paid at Martinmas and Pentecost equally" (n. 30, fol. 230 *b*).

[1] *History of York*, p. 172.

We now turn to our martyr's husband, John Clitherow. The name of his father, Richard Clitherow, appears, with that of Thomas Myddleton, in a list of "the most honest of Commoners" (n. 22, fol. 110). On the 4th of February, 4° *et* 5° Philip and Mary, $155\frac{7}{8}$, when Richard Clitherow was a younger man, he appeared in the Lord Mayor's Court, and his name is then recorded in less honourable fashion.

"12° *Maii*, 5° *Edwardi VI.* [1551].

"*Item*, that for as much as appeareth plainly to these presents that Richard Clithero hath behaved himself disobediently and unfittingly to Mr. John Lewes, one of the aldermen of this city, for that he would not 'waile' his bonnet to him going by him in the street, but said he would not cap to such 'chorles and pollers;'[1] and here now examined, confesseth in manner the same self words and gesture, saying openly he called him 'chorle,' and if he had called him 'poller,' he had said but truth, and asked this audience whether he should cap to him whom he had rather fight with than otherwise, or whom he cannot love; wherefore it is agreed by the said presents that he shall be bound to good abearing, and for his offence to be committed to ward, and further to be ordered as my Lord Mayor shall think good, according to his further behaviour" (n. 20, fol. 54 *b*).

In 1564 Richard Clitherow died, and September 21, in that year, Thomas Gibson was elected one of the Common Council in his room (n. 23, fol. 155 *b*).

John Clitherow, his son, in 1571, made Margaret Middleton his wife. She was living with her stepfather, to whom her mother had been married nearly four years, and naturally the wedding took place in his parish church, St. Martin's in Coney Street. The registers of that parish begin with the year 1557, and are preserved in duplicate, so that we have the register of the marriage—

"1571. John Clitherow, butcher, and Margaret Middleton were married the 1st day of July, *anno supradicto*."

[1] *Poller*, a barber, one who shears, clips, or shaves; a pillager, a robber. *Johnson.*

John Clitherow was evidently a well-to-do man. January 29, $157\frac{0}{1}$, he was sworn in bridgemaster (n. 24, fol. 222). In 1572, John Oldcorne is one of the four sworn men against "the late rebels and other evil-disposed people suspected of Papistry" for St. Sampson's parish, and John Clitherow an assistant for Christ's parish (n. 25, fol. 38). In the year following he was chosen a chamberlain of the city.

"18° *Januarii*, 16° *Elizabeth* [$157\frac{3}{4}$].

"*Christophorus Harbert, maior. Robertus Maskewe, maior electus, &c.* Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge the day and year above said, when and where Richard Hewton, Ralph Richardson, merchant, James Stock, notary, John Clitherow, butcher, and Richard Yowdale, cook, five of the new chamberlains of this city, were presently sworn, and laying down their exoneration silver, did pay the same one to another, and so also did undertake every of them for the other" (n. 25, fol. 105).

By this election plain John Clitherow, butcher, became Mr. Clitherow. The office of chamberlain, says Drake,[1] "entitles its bearer to the appellation of gentleman, and the title 'Master' or 'Mr.' is always prefixed to their name in writing or speaking to them ever after, a title which the vulgar take so much notice of, that when they hear it, as they think, misapplied, they repeat, 'Mr. quotha! pray who was Lord Mayor when he was chamberlain?'"

In 1572 John Clitherow was assessed to the poor at the rate of 2*d.* a week, which was the highest rate of assessment, excepting that of the aldermen who were assessed at 6*d.*, and Sir Valentine Browne, whose assessment was 12*d.* Another token of his comparative wealth is to be found in the return[2] made in 1576, when his wife is first mentioned as in trouble for her religion. He then declared himself to be worth 6*l.* in clear goods, and there was only one other mentioned in the return who was worth as much.

[1] *History of York*, Abridged Edition, 1785, vol. ii. p. 30.
[2] *Supra*, p. 252.

John Clitherow and his wife lived, no doubt, in the Shambles,[1] and in all probability the house is standing yet where the devout woman entertained priests and "served God"—that is, heard Mass. The street so called runs from Christ Church to Crux, and, with its overhanging wooden houses and primitive butchers' shops, has been less changed than any street in York. Besides his house in Christ's parish, John Clitherow had a close at Monk-bridge end, and there was a constant question whether he was bound to keep the highway in repair which lay under his close-side leading to the abbey mills (n. 30, fol. 336; n. 31, fol. 202).

After his wife's death, John Clitherow's name occasionally appears in the City Housebooks. In 1597 "John Clitherow and Christopher Cowling, butchers, free citizens of this city," passing through Barnard Castle, resisted a claim for toll, on which John Allanson took distress of them for the toll. Citizens of York were by Charter toll free all over the kingdom, and the Corporation went to law with any one that disregarded the privilege. The threat that "suit should be commenced at the next term at the common law for the same" was sufficient, and John Allanson "confessed that he had wrongfully troubled" the butchers of York (n. 31, fol. 284, 301 *b*, 360).

At the very end of Elizabeth's reign, February 2, $160\frac{2}{3}$, amongst the commoners called in for the election of a Common Clerk, which "were of the best sort of the citizens and well liked of by this Court" was John Clitherow (n. 32, fol. 238). And his name is the second in the Monk-Ward list, Christ parish, "of the best citizens and inhabitants in this city," who were "to have decent and comely gowns made after the citizens' fashion of a sad colour" to receive King James as he passed through York on his way from Scotland on his accession.

Though John Clitherow was not a Catholic, his brother William was a priest, as we have already seen:[2] and it is probable that the "Thomas Clitherow, of York, draper," who was in the Castle for his religion in 1600, was another brother.

[1] "February 7, $158\frac{8}{9}$, John Clitherow and George Toppin chosen ffeoffers for 40*l.* given to the butchers in the Shambles of this city for ever, yearly to be lent, by Mr. William Drew" (n. 30, fol. 87).

[2] *Supra*, p. 279.

Of his sons, Henry and William went abroad to study for the priesthood, the one to Rome and the other to Rheims. The latter, as we have seen,[1] was imprisoned in York Castle in 1618, and shortly after was banished.

Anne, the daughter of twelve years of age, to whom Margaret Clitherow sent her hose and shoes, to signify that she was to follow in her mother's steps, became a religious in St. Ursula's Convent, Louvain, in 1596, and was one of the four English sisters who remained there when the others established St. Monica's Convent.[2] Anne had been imprisoned in Lancashire gaol, and her father induced the Lord Mayor of York to write for him the following letter to the Earl of Derby to obtain her liberation.

"My humble duty unto your honourable lordship remembered. Whereas I have been earnestly entreated by this bearer, John Clitherow of this city, butcher, to certify unto your honour of what demeanour and behaviour this bearer is, and whether he heretofore had or hath a daughter named Anne Clitherow or no. May it therefore please the same to be certified for truth, that he is a free citizen and inhabiting within this city, and was born within the same and hath here inhabited by a long time, and is a man of good behaviour and a dutiful subject, obedient to her Majesty's laws, of good ability, and dutifully and orderly hitherto hath repaired to the church to hear divine service and sermons. And that in the time of his so dwelling here he hath had three wives, by the second of which he had a daughter born within this city named Anne Clitherow, which at this present, if she be living, is of the age of eighteen years or thereabouts. The which daughter, as he informeth me, did about four years ago depart from him without his consent or knowledge, and at this present is in Lancaster gaol by your honour's commandment for causes ecclesiastical. His humble suit unto your honourable lordship is, that it would please the same to grant that he may have his said daughter delivered unto him upon his bond to bring her to this city with him to remain here to be conferred withal by some learned and godly preachers for such reasonable time as to your

[1] *Supra*, p. 279. [2] *Troubles*, First Series, p. 7.

honour shall seem convenient, and if within the same time she cannot be conformed, then to make her appearance before her Majesty's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical in these parts to receive and do as by them shall be thought convenient in that behalf. And thus ceasing to trouble your good lordship any further at this time, I humbly commit the same to the merciful protection of Almighty God. From York, this 12th day of July, 1593.

"Yours honour's humbly to command,

"ROBERT ASKWITH, Mayor" (n. 31, fol. 20).

Addressed—"To the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, one of the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council."

The interesting Housebooks of the city of York shall do us one last service before we take our leave of them. Bishop Challoner[1] raises a doubt of the year of Margaret Clitherow's martyrdom. He says that it happened "on the 26th of March (some say the 25th) of this or the foregoing year," that is 1585 or 1586, "for authors are divided about the time." When the martyrdom took place Henry May was Lord Mayor, and Fawcet and Gibson sheriffs of York. The Housebooks show us that "Roland Fawcet and William Gibson were by the most voices of the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, chosen to be sheriffs of the said city of York for this year next following, according to the ancient charter and custom of this city," on the feast of St. Matthew, Sept. 21, in the 27th year of the reign of Elizabeth, that is, 1585 (n. 29, fol. 38 *b*). On the next day, "some questions did arise between them, whether of them should be first

[1] One of the few inaccuracies in Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests* is to be found in his notice of Margaret Clitherow, and into it he has been led by another book, ordinarily most accurate, the *Concertatio*. The Bishop says that "her husband was forced into banishment." This report evidently came from the command imposed on John Clitherow to absent himself from York six days before his wife's execution. It may be doubted whether the threat to whip one of the boys—apparently not her son, but the Flemish boy who was witness against her—is not the origin of the further statement that "her little children were taken up, and being questioned concerning the articles of their religion and answering as they had been taught by her, were severely whipped." If this were the fact, Mr. Mush would certainly have recorded it. He says that the children and servants were all sent to divers prisons, and that the eldest girl, Anne, was induced to go to church to save her mother's life,

named and set down sheriffs," and "upon voices secretly taken, the said Roland Fawcet is by most voices elected and chosen to be in the first place" (fol. 39 *b*). November 29, in the 28th year of Elizabeth, that is to say still 1585 (her regnal year beginning Nov. 17), "Mr Roland Fawcet and Mr William Gibson, sheriffs of this city, took their oaths of the Privy Council of this city, and so gave the wine" (fol. 54 *b*).

"*Decimo quinto die Januarii, anno regni Elizabeth Reginæ, &c. vicesimo·octavo* [$158\frac{5}{6}$].

"*Andreas Trewe, Maior, &c.* Assembled in the Common Hall of this city, the day and year above said for election of a Mayor according to the charter of election, and upon three elects put in by the Common Council and head searchers of the thirteen and fifteen crafts, that is to say, Mr. Henry Maye, Mr. Ralph Richardson and Mr. James Birkbie, aldermen, the said Mr. Henry Maye is by most voices of the Lord Mayor, aldermen and sheriffs chosen to be Mayor of this city from the feast-day of Saint Blase next coming [Feb. 3] for the year then next ensuing [1586]."

"*Tertio die Februarii, anno regni Dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ Reginæ, &c.* 28°.

"*Andreas Trewe, Maior. Henricus May, electus, &c.* Assembled in the Council Chamber upon Ousebridge, the day and year above said, when and where my Lord Mayor delivered to our new master the seals of office of Mayoralty and Statute merchant with six keys thereunto annexed, and one little seal for sealing of passports, and also 40*s.* called Girdlington money, and the basin and ewer of silver parcel gilt of Sir Martin Bowes' gift, and one other basin and one ewer of silver parcel gilt of Mr. Thomas Metcalfe's bequest, and two livery pots of silver gilt, one pot of silver gilt, with a cover, of Mr. Tankard late Recorder's bequest, and one other pot of silver gilt of Mr. Christopher Maltby, late alderman deceased, and one nest of goblets double gilt, and two great salts of silver with a cover double gilt of the gift of Mr. John Dyneley, late alderman deceased, and also one silver bowl parcel gilt late brought from St. Thomas' house, and also three scarlet cloaks" (fol. 83).

"3° *Octobris*, 28° *Elizabeth* [1586].

"And for as much as Roland Fawcet and William Gibson, late sheriffs of this city, did divers times during their said office, go without any officer or waiter against the worship of this city, and the said Roland and William being now present here, did submit themselves to the order of my Lord Mayor and aldermen and this house for their said offence, whereupon it is agreed now by these presents, that either of them shall pay 40*s.* for their said offence and other offences by them committed during their said office, to the Common Chamber of this city."

New Year's Day in England up to the year 1754 was Lady Day, March 25, and Margaret Clitherow's martyrdom was on that day, the first of the year 1586 according to the Old Style. The year is plain enough. As to the day Mr. Mush says plainly that it was the Feast of the Annunciation, and also that it was "Friday, wherein all Christendom celebrated the memory of Christ's death and piteously lamenteth His pains." In 1586 Lady Day fell on a Friday, and as Easter O.S. was April 3, that day was Friday in Passion Week. But Mr. Mush perhaps means to say that it was Lady Day in England, and Good Friday wherever the Gregorian or New Style prevailed; and this was true, for the day which in England was March 25 by New Style was April 4, and Easter that year falling a week earlier in the New Style than in the Old, that day was Good Friday, N.S.

The following narrative is printed by the kind permission of William Middelton, Esq., of Myddelton Lodge and Stockeld, from a contemporary manuscript in his possession. St. Mary's Convent, York,[1] possesses a manuscript copy of the same narrative, not differing much from the other in the meaning of the phrases, but containing a very large number of verbal differences. On its title page it is said to be "now newly transcribed out of an old manuscript by Rbt. Setgr., 1654." This copy was edited in 1849

[1] St. Mary's Convent has also the happiness of possessing the only relic of this holy martyr which is known to exist. It is her hand, which Mr. Charles Weld of Chideock has worthily encased. It is not known how the relic came there, but the Convent, having existed in York since 1680, was naturally the most fitting receptacle for this treasure.

by William Nicholson, Esq., to whom consequently the credit is due of having first published Mr. Mush's history of this martyr. Another manuscript copy is the property of St. Mary's College, Oscott.

Not only is Mr. Middelton's manuscript of much earlier date than that belonging to the Convent, as the hand-writing shows, but the manuscript from which it was copied was written before that from which the Convent copy was taken. Its original was written so soon after Margaret's martyrdom that it was out of the author's hands before Francis Ingleby suffered, yet his death followed Mrs. Clitherow's in less than three months. The writer's words are, "They have martyred of late divers good Catholic priests and lay persons, among whom suffered the last day at York [*i.e.* at the last execution, November 26, 1585] one priest and one layman [Hugh Taylor and Marmaduke Bowes], and a little after [March 25, 1586] one woman [Margaret Clitherow]." This passage in the Convent copy runs thus: "They have murdered divers good Catholic priests and some lay persons, four priests at London [Edward Stransham and Nicholas Woodfen died before Margaret Clitherow, January 21, 158$\frac{5}{6}$, and Richard Sergeant with William Thomson, April 20, 1586], and at York three priests [Hugh Taylor, Francis Ingleby, June 3, and John Finglow, August 8, 1586], and three laymen [Marmaduke Bowes, Robert Bickerdike, and Richard Langley], and one woman [Margaret Clitherow]." This cannot have been written before December 1, 1586, on which day Richard Langley was martyred; and it is singular that having been written then, the writer should not have heard of the martyrdoms of John Lowe, John Adams, and Richard Dibdale at Tyburn, of Robert Anderton and William Marsden in the Isle of Wight, and John Sandys at Gloucester, who all suffered in the course of the year 1586.

John Mush, the writer of this life was a distinguished secular priest, who has already appeared in our pages[1] in the admirable part of a pacificator on the occasion of the divisions amongst the prisoners for the faith at Wisbech. He was a Yorkshireman by

[1] *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 265.

birth, and having commenced his studies at the English College, Douay, he was sent to Rome to finish his philosophy and to study his theology in the newly-founded English College there. He was one of the first set of students who entered the College in 1579, his name being twenty-second in the list. He was sent on the English mission after his ordination, and John Pitts, writing in 1612, while he was yet alive, says that he made a large harvest of souls, during twenty years, both in and out of prison. He was sent to Rome by his brethren of the secular clergy, and after his return he was for fourteen years one of the assistants of the arch-priest. Bishop Challoner adds that "after having suffered prisons and chains, and received even the sentence of death for his faith, he died at length in his bed, in a good old age, in the year 1617." Both Pitts and Dodd record that, besides other books, he wrote *An Account of the Sufferings of Catholics in the Northern Parts of England.* It is but a conjecture certainly, but it does not seem improbable that this is the very paper which is given above, under the title "A Yorkshire Recusant's Relations." If so, he has spoken of himself, when mentioning the author of Mrs. Clitherow's life, as "a friend of ours."[1]

[1] *Supra*, p. 86.

A TRUE REPORT OF THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF MRS. MARGARET CLITHEROW.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

IT hath been a laudable custom in all ages, from the beginning of Christ His Church, to publish and truly set forth the singular virtues of such her children as either in their lives by rare godliness did shine above the rest, or by their patient deaths most stoutly overcame all barbarous cruelty, and both by their lives and deaths glorified God, encouraged to like victories their faithful brethren, and with invincible fortitude confounded the persecuting tyrants. For who can sufficiently imagine how God is glorified in the constancy of His infirm servants, who in this life would not for anything either in heaven or in earth be drawn from their faith and charity of Him, and in death, with exceeding joy, would forsake all the world, contemn all kind of tortures and their own life for His sake? Who can think how the victory, gotten in flesh and blood by God's grace, doth strengthen and encourage weaklings? How to love God and contemn life for the same discomforteth, and with shame confoundeth the persecutors; who, notwithstanding their cruelty in killing the body, are yet overcome in all such conflicts in their own both bodies and souls? *Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus*, saith the holy prophet, "Laud and praise our Lord in all His saints;" the which

thing we do then dutifully perform when we thank Him for His gracious sanctifying of them, and rejoicing in the memory of their virtues, diligently endeavour by our works reverently to imitate them in their holiness. For like as all goodness in them first proceeded from the gracious and most bountiful hand of God opened upon them with abundant blessing, to the end they might glorify Him by their good works; so both all that which is truly and sincerely uttered to their praise, and also well done by imitating of their virtues, must needs redound principally to the same laud and praise of God, the Author and Giver of all good and perfect gifts.

In this thing, therefore, we may be bold in verity to declare and set forth their virtues to the glory of them without derogation of God's honour, because He hath both willed us to laud Him in His saints, and the honour given to them cannot possibly be but most to God's honour, by whose mercy and grace all His saints are made honourable. And if we may do this to God His saints and justified children, and with great gladness of spirit rejoice in the beauty of Christ our Saviour His members, either militant here in earth, or triumphant with Him their Head in the glory of His heavenly kingdom; much more surely we may perform the same to those which hath constantly run the race of this inconstant life, with their invincible charity hath entered combat with death itself, hath mightily vanquished the malice of their deadly foes, and now perfectly possessing the security of all heavenly felicity, are far removed from any access of their slanderous adversaries, and other envious caitiffs.

In the infancy, and also in some riper ages of Christ His Church (when the devil, by infidels and heretics his limbs, sought to devour the gracious children of this holy Mother), God was often glorified by the patience and double martyrdom of these virtuous lives and honourable

deaths amongst His servants; thereby tyrants were confounded, the whole world conquered, innumerable people became Christians, the blood of martyrs (which is the plenteous seed of Christ His Church) brought forth the happy fruits of Christianity and peace everywhere, most mighty princes yielding their swords and sceptres into the obedience and defence of Christ's faith and Church, until these unfortunate times, wherein this most fruitful Mother is now in her old age no less persecuted by the cruelty of those which once she had brought forth as her own children, than she was in her infancy by infidels persecuted, ever her professed enemies. But as in those days perfect virtue in the most Christians, and the bloody victories by many subdued her persecutors to her obedience, and thereby a calm peace ensued everywhere; so now the abuse of peace bringing to man security, and again security too much negligence and slackness in virtuous life (without which true peace cannot come or endure stable any long time), it turneth again to open persecution and cruel shedding of blood. Virtue is lost, peace abandoned, the adversaries rage more and more, and striving to get victory, with all tyranny [and] discomfort put to flight and murther the children of this their aged Mother, and hope they shall as easily, by violence, drive her Christian children from her, either by forsaking or dissembling their faith, as by the fraudulent allurements of pleasure and worldly vanities they enticed and divided them from her virtues. In the primitive Church they persecuted her that she should remain barren and bring forth no increase; now they labour also to the same effect, but principally to subvert and destroy her already born children; and as she then cast her seed of blood to the generation of many, so now she fighteth with blood to save those that she hath borne, that the lily roots being watered with the fruitful liquor of blood, may keep still and yield new branches hereafter with so much

more plentiful increase by how much more abundantly such sacred streams flow among them.

Of this kind of gracious moisture, there hath been no scarcity in divers provinces of Christendom these late years, since Luther's apostacy from the known Catholic Church and universal faith of all Christian nations; but in those places especially where the heretical canker of Luther, Calvin, and their contentious fellows and fautors most prevailed, as in this country of England, accursed no doubt in God's heavy indignation for the punishment of the dissoluteness and iniquity as well in the Catholic clergy as laity, the fury of all sorts of heretics and atheists hath so vehemently raged over the whole realm with such exceeding cruelty and barbarousness that, within this threescore years, it hath shed more just blood, murthered more innocent Catholic people, made greater havoc and destruction of all godliness than it or any other hath done either in England or all Christian nations beside, either in the same time or in many hundred years before. Insomuch as now not one Religious house standeth, not one altar unrased and undefiled, not one church free from heretics and heresy, not one sacrament rightly administered, nor one Religious person to be found, not one Catholic priest but judged as a traitor or able to escape unmurthered; not one known Catholic man or woman suffered to live without intolerable vexation and continual danger of liberty to be lost, of lands and goods, yea, of life and blood. Whereby, it appeareth that this our ungracious country is the outcast of all others, is rather by God's wrath appointed and given over to these mischiefs for the example of all nations, than to be equally scourged with any of them; rather to be showed as a wonder and derision to all the world than to sustain with any some part of common calamity. What numbers of Catholic men of all sorts, in the beginning of these miseries, witnessed by suffering exquisite torments and

by shedding their blood, that the supreme ecclesiastical authority of God's Church was not due to any temporal prince, nor could lawfully be usurped by any civil magistrate. How many in these late years also hath confessed to death the same truth, and, for their fidelity to God, hath been unjustly condemned, and with all cruelty executed as traitors and disloyal to their temporal prince, although in very deed they were not inferior to any of their persecutors in all kind of serviceable duty to the present State, which might possibly stand with the sincerity of a Christian's conscience, and their principal honour to God. This one thing I am assured of, that this rebellious and most barbarous heresy in sixty years' space has violently destroyed more virtuous priests, Religious persons, and good lay people, only to establish the high spiritual jurisdiction upon the temporal magistrates' head (yet under the pretence of treasons), than all ages before hath done, either by first placing it by Christ upon the person of Peter, or by keeping it upon his successors ever since, which thing argueth plainly such ecclesiastical authority to be both unnatural, ungracious, and uncomely in profane usurpers thereof.

Hitherto their madness hath raged against the best Catholics, either for their constancy in this point of faith, or else for their Catholic refusal to participate with them in some either their heretical or schismatical conspiracy and irreligious acts, as for not going to their service, sermons, &c.; but now storming at every good they see in the Catholics, or rather at those that be not already oppressed with all sorts of unjust tyranny, they have most impiously enacted by their disordered authority of their profane and servile Court of Parliament all lawful Catholic priests, their own spiritual fathers, to be in case of high treason, unless they yield to their heretical proceedings. And to show the deadly malice to be no less towards the sheep than it appeared to be towards the

shepherds, minding indeed to cut the throats and suck the blood of both with like iniquity, they have decreed all maintainers, receivers, aiders, and comforters of such Catholic priests to stand in case of felons; all which barbarous cruelty as themselves are rather ashamed to hear of, how impudently they execute it, so we both hearing and beholding the bloody effects of their practices, cannot but be ashamed of them, our countrymen, which have far exceeded all other nations in this thirst of blood, and daily lament our country's miseries.

But to affirm and establish this foresaid horrible act and decree, they have martyred of late divers good Catholic priests and lay persons, among whom suffered the last day at York one priest and one layman, and a little after one woman, whose godly lives and fortitude in the last conflict of death I doubt not but some will publish, to the honour of God and His saints, and for the profitable example of other Christians not free as yet from the like terror, when God shall permit. And I, for my small portion of ability, being most willing to set forth so good a work, have attempted to manifest the virtuous life and glorious martyrdom of one of them, that is of the woman, with whose state and virtue in her life, I, although unworthy, have been no less acquainted than all her bloody tormentors, to their perpetual reproach and shame, were privy to her most joyful constancy at her death.

As for the man, that was made away twelve or thirteen weeks before this woman, yet both for the like cause, that is, for the harbouring, maintaining, and aiding of priests, I can give no special report with certainty, but so much only as after his arraignment and execution was hidden from none. He was named Marmaduke Bowes, an honest substantial gentleman or yeoman, I know not certainly whether, wonderfully beloved, and well spoken of among his neighbours, one that liked well of the Catholic

religion, as in heart believing it to be the infallible and only true religion of God, and all other new and uncertain faiths (whereof this miserable country hath well near as many and as diverse as it hath ministers or heretics) to be false faiths and heresies, as they are indeed, yet fearing, as infinite do, the extremity of those late monstrous laws and statutes, which oppress and violate the natural liberty of man's conscience, by forcing them by excessive penalties to do and yield to that which is both against all truth and their own infallible knowledge; he chose rather sometimes to accompany the ministers and to go in to their church than he would fall to the unmerciful handling of heretics, and lose both goods and liberty. Thus he continued a long time, divided miserably within himself, detesting all their heresies in his heart, and yet fearing in his bodily actions to show himself a Catholic, believing inwardly the Catholic faith in every point, and yet fearing not to seem outwardly an heretic. Nevertheless, in all this time of his schismatical dissembling, he thought it a desperate point of impiety to shut up his hospitality from priests, whom he knew well to be the messengers of God, sent, not to commit treasons (as the heretics slanderously pretend, and would falsely persuade the world to believe), but to bring God's grace and salvation to all men: to these men, I say, he opened his doors bountifully, whom he received and as gladly entertained as any men could be, trusting no doubt one day thereby to participate of the good gifts they brought (neither hath his hope failed him), and by such works of mercy in these unmerciful days to find the sooner and more certainly grace and mercy at God's hands. About Michaelmas last, before his execution, the which was in the year of our Lord, 1595, a young man chanced to be apprehended, who was then Catholic, but soon after, through their torments, fell and became most graceless; and after he had undone himself he left no cruelty untried that he might by some

occasion work the destruction of many more. Among others, he accused this Mr. Bowes, to whose children he had been schoolmaster, and told the magistrates that he received some priests since the promulgation of the statute against the receiving of them; whereupon both he and his wife were sent for to York, and after a little imprisonment licensed to depart home again under bond until the next gaol delivery. To the which he returned at the time appointed, being on a Wednesday, where he found a priest to be arraigned, who had been apprehended in another man's house, and whom the schoolmaster had accused Mr. Bowes to have harboured. The priest at his gaol delivery was condemned, and as a traitor executed the Friday following. And also the same Wednesday, Mr. Bowes was indicted and condemned upon the only evidence of the schoolmaster, who had broken his faith and promise to God and man a little before, carrying still a conscience saleable for sixpence, of known and notable infamy, as it was openly reported before the Bench, and proved against him; yet notwithstanding upon the evidence of such a companion, the gentleman was judged and condemned as a felon, and upon Saturday following hanged. Before his death he was made a member of the Catholic Church, the which he boldly confessed with great alacrity of mind, lamenting that he had lived in schism so long, and without fear of death desired not to live any longer, but that his death might be some part of satisfaction for his schismatical dissembling bypast. And in the mercy of Christ, who made full satisfaction for us all, he offered up his own life, wishing that he had many more to spend in so good a cause. Some others knowing more particularly the state of this first martyr [in this kind], and remembering St. Alban's time, who was also martyred for the harbouring and maintaining a Catholic priest by the infidels, may set forth more amply both the heretics' most unjust proceeding against him, and his patient

virtuous behaviour in suffering their cruelty. For my part I will pass it over and come to this double martyrdom of the woman, who was the second martyr for receiving God's priests. In whose life I will not, by God's grace and assistance, make relation of anything more than that which I saw and well knew in her myself by some years of our conversation together, for which season I was privy to her whole heart as much as any. And as for those things which happened at her apprehension, imprisonment, arraignment, judgment, and death, I will report no more than that which I have received from the mouths of divers honest and credible persons, which were present witnesses and beholders of every action.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE VIRTUOUS EDUCATION OF MRS. MARGARET CLITHEROW.

THIS martyr's name was Margaret Clitherow, wife of Mr. John Clitherow, citizen of York. She was born in York, the daughter of Mr. Middleton, a man of good wealth, who had been sheriff in the same city. As touching her worldly state and condition, she was about thirty years of age, and to her beautiful and gracious soul God gave her a body with comely face and beauty correspondent. She was of sharp and ready wit, with rare discretion in all her actions, a plentiful mother in children, and her husband of competent wealth and ability. About twelve or thirteen years past, two or three years at the most after her marriage, when she heard first of the Catholic Faith and Church (for before she frequented the heretical service, not suspecting there had been any other true way to serve God), she became as desirous to learn the Christian duty in truth and sincerity, as she had learned before to serve only the world vainly; and, after a little

consideration, finding no substance, truth, nor Christian comfort in the ministers of the new gospel, nor in their doctrine itself, and hearing also many priests and lay people to suffer for the defence of the ancient Catholic Faith, (which is known to have been the Faith of all England, common with all the Christian world many hundred years since the world was first delivered from idolatry and paganism), she carefully employed herself to know plainly the same, and to become a lively member of the Church, wherein this faith had been taught and preached. Even, at the first, fully resolving rather to forsake husband, life, and all, than to return again to her damnable state, which gracious desire she then more speedily accomplished, not without contradiction of her worldly friends, than at any time after she could peaceably enjoy the same.

For that in those days neither heretical fury was so outrageous as it hath shamefully increased ever since, and more then were known Catholics in one town (Catholic times being fresh in memory of all, which the tempest of violent heretics hath destroyed and taken away) than are now to be found almost in a whole country.

In the passage of these twelve years, she hath been often tossed in the waves of tribulation; for her former zeal and constancy in the Catholic faith, divers times separated from her husband and children, cast into prison, sometimes by the space of two years together, and sometimes by more, that it might be plainly verified in her which the Apostle speaketh of God's elect, *Omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo persecutionem patiuntur;* that is "All that will live virtuous in our Lord Jesus suffer persecution;" for she had no sooner escaped the devil's throat, and resolved with herself to serve God sincerely, who had so mercifully delivered her from the danger of that damnation which had been the certain reward of her former erroneous faith, which, in her youth, she had

learned of new apostatas; but the devil and his ministers raged fiercely against her by the terrors of the persecutions to separate her from God and His Catholic Church, and drive her again into the damnable snares of heresy and schism. But the matter fell out quite contrary to their malicious intent and expectation; for the spirit of God wrought so graciously in her, that all troubles, persecutions, and cruelty practised against her for Catholic religion and conscience' sake daily increased more and more the constancy of her faith, and most mightily increased [*i. e.* strengthened] her former weakness with all patience and fortitude to resist and sustain what cruelty soever the heretics could devise and attempt against her. The prison she accounted a most happy and profitable school, where the servants of God (as delivered from all worldly cares and business) might learn most commodiously every Christian virtue. And surely this fruit she reaped of it at all times, that there she made her provision, and heaped together such good store of virtues as might serve her need whensoever she should be set at liberty, and drawn again into the malignant world. In this her imprisonment, therefore, she greatly deceived her enemies, which intended by such terror and violence to weaken her strength, to abate her courage, and to infringe her constancy; for every day she, growing stronger than herself, marvellously increased in fervour and charity to God and man, planted in her heart a perfect contempt of the world, and laboured principally to overcome herself in all disordered passions and inclinations of nature, that her actions and service might be acceptable in the sight of God, as she preferred His honour and will before all things. And, therefore, when she understood at any time, either by the false or slanderous reports of heretics, or by some true and certain fame, that any Catholic prisoners behaved themselves disorderly, in idleness, impatience, covetousness, murmuration, dissension, or frowardness, self-love, or

greedy desire of liberty, inordinate worldly pleasure, or any other thing inconvenient to their calling, which should be mortified to the world and all concupiscence thereof—although the devil labour with all his heretical routs more vehemently to overthrow, by divers continual assaults and temptations, such spiritual professed soldiers of Christ, than a thousand living abroad at random in the delights and vanities of the world, as having caught them already with the sugared hook of deceitful allurements, and not much fearing their escape—when she heard, I say, of any like things, she would greatly lament their case, and say: "Fie on it, that this thing should be heard of, or be at all among Catholics imprisoned for their conscience. Methinks, by this time they should have learned to overcome themselves. Would to God, if it might stand with the duty to my husband and my house, that I were in prison again, where I might (being delivered from the disquietness and cares of this world) attend wholly to the service of my God, and to the getting of such virtues as I perceive to be wanting in me. Oh, how happy are they that have such good opportunity and occasion to do well. I fear God saw something in me for which I was unworthy to continue among them; but God's blessed will be done," which was a usual phrase with her. By which speech, and such like, uttered so often with a gracious humility of voice and countenance, besides the perfect knowledge which I had of her whole mind and actions, made me ever to admire her virtue, and did perceive her endeavours during the time of her imprisonment to have been most commodious unto her, and there to have found the true riches of many virtues; amongst which this was not the least, that she had a most instant desire to suffer anything for God's sake and the Catholic Faith.

Thus she turned all things to her good, and sucked honey out of the cruelty of her enemies. They persecuted,

and she thereby learned patience; they shut her up into close prison, and she learned thereby to forget and despise the world; they separated her from house, children, and husband, and she thereby became familiar with God; they sought to terrify her, and she thereby increased in most glorious constancy and fortitude, insomuch that her greatest joy was to be assaulted by them, whereby we see evidently this saying of the Apostle verified in her: *Scimus quod diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum iis qui secundum propositum vocati sunt sancti;* that is, "We know that to them that love God all things do work together unto good to such as according unto His purpose are called to be saints."

But that her diligence in labouring to plant virtues and to root out vice in her may the better appear and be seen to the honour of God, and the glory of her, His saint, and comfort and imitation of good people, I will briefly touch some particular virtues wherein I saw her most to excel.

CHAPTER III.

OF HER HUMILITY, THE FOUNDATION OF ALL HER VIRTUES.

FIRST, therefore, after she became a member of the Catholic Church, and had resolved constantly to serve God, she laboured to lay a sure foundation of true and unfeigned humility, wherein she made such progress as was meet for the building of a virtuous and holy life, and for the receiving of a glorious crown of martyrdom by her death. For, notwithstanding all her other virtues, whereof a little after I shall speak, notwithstanding all the good she did to many, yet both in her own eyes she thought herself nobody but an unprofitable servant to God and man, laden with imperfections, and unworthy of any good, and also (as

much as she could without sin and offence to God) desired heartily so to be thought of and accounted in this world: never pleasing herself in the goodness she had already, but continually striving to get that which she perceived in herself to be wanting. I have marvelled many times to see her joy and great desire she had, that either her spiritual father or any other could advertise her of her faults and imperfections, suspecting always her own actions not only to be impure in the sight of God, but also imperfect and not worthy of the sight of men. And therefore, being suspicious that those which were most conversant with her might perhaps oversee or not note them, she was very desirous of the company of any such as she understood to judge hardly of her, or far otherwise than indeed she did deserve, as virtue will never want an envious neighbour, that by contradiction it may be exercised to great perfection and glory. She was accustomed to say: "For God's sake let such an one come and abide with me awhile, for if they mislike of me, not knowing me, surely they heard something of me, and would espy it in me if they were present, which neither you (unless you conceal it from me) nor I can find in myself, and yet would very gladly amend if I could know it."

If at any times she had not gotten her good desires, which was principally in the sacraments and service in God's Catholic Church, she would not impute the want of it to the fault of any other, but forthwith have called to mind her own evil deserts, and humbly think her own unworthiness to be the hindrance of so good grace. By which humility and earnest desire she gained more abundance of grace sometimes in foregoing the thing that she wished, than she might have done in enjoying the same. When any spoke well of her, then with heavy cheer she used to sigh, and never so much feared or misliked her own estate as when she knew that any did praise her. Commend or praise her and her doings, and you oppressed

her with sorrow; condemn and rebuke her, and seem to despise her, then you filled her heart with joy and inward gladness. Sometimes her friends of purpose would try her both ways, as well for the exercising of her as for their own comfort and imitation: now to dispraise that which, indeed, deserved praise, now to commend that which was unworthy, now to praise that [which] she did well, and again now to find fault with that which might perhaps have been amended—that in all her well-doings she might keep humility of heart, and in her actions not to respect the opinion of men or her own commendation, but yield all honour to God, and walk in His sight in sincerity and lowliness of spirit. When she had been reproved of anything, she would mildly have answered to have satisfied them; and if it would not serve, then, without all contention, keep silence, and return to the comfort of her inward mind and conscience, referring all to God, rather more willing to acknowledge a fault, although she were innocent, than to defend or excuse herself when she was any way reprehended.

And in this virtue she profited so greatly, that in all prosperity and good that befell either herself or others, she, acknowledging her own unworthiness, returned all glory and hearty thanks to God, and usually would say, "God be thanked;" and, in all adversities, think herself unworthy of better, saying also, "God's will be fulfilled." In this tranquillity of a humble spirit she lived in exceeding joy. Her external actions discovered the true humility of her heart, for there was nothing to be done in the house so base that she would not be most ready to do or take in hand herself, and the baser the office should be, the more unwilling would she be the maidens should do it, but rather keep it as a necessary exercise in store for herself of her own humility. Yea, although she were inferior to none of her neighbours in any honest, comely, womanly, or decent quality, and worthy to be

preferred before them in every point wherein the commendation of a good housewife standeth, yet she would not disdain, as many do, more outwardly nice than inwardly virtuous, or think much to make the fire, to sweep the house, to wash the dishes, and more gross matters also, choosing rather to do them herself, and to set her maids about sweeter business. Although sometimes, to muzzle them to such acts of humility, she would acquaint also her servants and children with doing the same. In talking of this matter, I have heard her say many times: "God forbid that I should will any to do that in my house which I would not willingly do myself first. They that think much, and are not willing to do such base things, have little regard of well-doing or knowledge of themselves." Thus she walked in the safe way of humility, ever fearing her own deeds, and preferring all others before herself.

I have greatly marvelled oftentimes how she, being an unlearned woman, tossed up and down in worldly business, except only in the times of her imprisonment, wherein she learned to read English and written hand, could attain to that humility, to which I know few faithful clerks to have reached nigh, but *Digitus Dei hic, hæc mutatio dexteræ Excelsi:* "It is the finger of God, this change is of the right hand of the Highest;" and surely, as I persuade myself, she is a pattern of virtues given to me and others to follow, who are so slack in imitating the virtues of our Saviour and of His other saints, which we have heard of and never seen, that we might be quickened and stirred up to more fervour by the example of this glorious Martyr, whom we have both seen and known, and [with whom] we have been a long time familiarly conversant, the which good benefit, I trust, she will, during this my mortal life procure for me of God by her gracious help and prayers, having also daily before my eyes the fresh memory of her excellent virtues.

CHAPTER IV.

OF HER PERFECT CHARITY AND LOVE TO GOD.

WITH this virtue of perfect humility did shine in her a rare charity and love to God. This appeared in her most fervent zeal in setting forth and making provision for the serving of God. In all her virtuous life, in the great troubles she sustained for His sake, and especially, last of all, in the voluntary and ready offering of herself to a cruel death in the testimony of her true love to Him and the truth of His Catholic faith: for so He saith, *Nemo habet majorem charitatem quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis*—"None hath greater charity than to give his life for his friends' sake." No time verily seemed to her long enough for the service of God, no pains grievous, nothing too dear for the setting forward of His honour. By three things specially I noted in her the true love of God.

First, that she had every day a hearty sorrow and humble repentance for her youth spent out of the Catholic Church of Christ, in vain follies and schism, which daily exercise wrought in her a continual savour to repentance [for] those years, with her whole strength, by God's grace, to honour Him as she had dishonoured Him before.

Secondly, that she had a vehement desire that all others, both heretics, schismatics, and lukewarm Catholics, might know God and His truth, be made children of His Catholic Church, serve and love Him above all things, and obtain no less grace than she wished for herself; that God might be glorified in all His people. And in this her perfect charity toward God she let no occasion slip, no opportunity escape, to draw all with whom she might safely deal, to their dutiful and sincere obedience toward God.

Thirdly, that she kept always a most firm and constant purpose not to do willingly and advisedly anything, how small soever it were, which she thought was offensive to God; but, as much as her state and ability would permit, to do that the rather of two good things which she imagined or could learn to be most acceptable to Him, and to the more glory of His holy Name.

How often have I heard her speak these words, when we have talked together of the perfect obedience and love some saints have had, and we all should have towards God. "God knoweth," said she, "I am far off from that [which] I should be, and I am clogged with many imperfections, but by God's grace I never mind to commit any sin willingly, which I know to be a sin or against God's will, though it were to gain the whole world or save my temporal life." Some little imperfections reigned in her, without the which this mortal life is not possible. But in truth I never found her void of this constant purpose willingly not to offend God, and as much as her condition suffered her, most desirous and ready to do in all things that which most did redound to God's honour.

And this charity so enkindled, and rather inflamed her in such marvellous sort, that it overruled all worldly fears and natural inclination in her; that to serve God she neither feared the world, neither the flesh, nor the devil, neither yet all the cruelty that hell gates, heretics, or other creatures could work against her, and therefore in all her actions it evidently appeared that she loved Him whom continually she served, and joyfully served Him whom she loved above all things, and that her industry to keep earnestly in her heart this true and chaste love of God, far surpassed the diligence of any other foolish lovers in seeking to give and accomplish inordinate desires.

CHAPTER V.

OF HER OBEDIENCE TO HER GHOSTLY FATHER.

FROM the deep foundation of her perfect humility, and the fruitful root of her burning charity to God, did rise up and spring great plenty of all virtues: for being timorous to offend God, and only desirous to obey His will in every thing, and withal suspicious of her own doings that they were not so perfect in God's sight, as both He required, and of duty they should be, she found out the only sure and safe way to do well, which she might ever follow without offence, and exercise with greatest gain. This golden woman did utterly forsake her own judgment and will in all her actions, to submit herself to the judgment, will, and direction of her ghostly father; and in this she fully believed and persuaded herself, that as she was in the secrecy of her own conscience most desirous and willing to do only the will of God, and yet unworthy in any particular action to have it from Him immediately revealed to her, (for that He worketh all things orderly, and disposeth His works most sweetly, governing inferior creatures by the means of superiors in every degree,) so if she, for His sake, did renounce the peril of her own will, most subject to error and offence, He would of His infinite goodness provide her such ghostly guides that should safely conduct her through all dangers: to the which persuasion she was much induced (as I remember she had said) by this motive, that since God of His infinite mercy had sent His priests already to call her to His grace, by delivering her from error in faith and ungracious affections of the will, He would also with like goodness that by their helps she should continue in the same: and as she might offend God in every of her actions, so it seemed to her the only safe way to please God, humbly

to submit herself in all things to follow the advice and direction of His priests.

And surely in this obedience she attained to such perfection, that although some ghostly fathers might have been thought, worthily, not of that sufficiency which was requisite for her direction in every point in her affairs (for she could not have present with her at all times those which she had chosen and chiefly desired to be guided by in all things, by reason of the scarcity of priests, and the plentiful harvest in sundry places abroad,) yet her confidence was so strong in God that she never doubted but He would endue and furnish every His priest, for the time of her need, with sufficient wisdom and discretion to direct her actions as should be most to His honour and her own spiritual good. And hereupon she bare a singular reverence to priesthood in every person, giving only respect to God, whose person and authority they represent and carry, and not to any man's person or other natural qualities in them. For many [times] when some, [with whom] she could have been well content, were called from her by occasion of more urgent business, she would say: "For God's sake let me not be without one or other, for whosoever beareth the name or authority of a Catholic priest shall be most welcome unto me, and find me willing by God's grace to follow his direction."

And truly she performed it in every respect; for the word of any priest, but especially of her ghostly father—nay, any little notification of his will to her, or if she could have gathered it by word, countenance, or sign, was [in]stead of his commandment to do his will; which ever she did with that marvellous alacrity, that her inward joy appeared outwardly in her mild and smiling countenance, no less cheerful and pleasant, than comfortable to all that saw her.

One thing I will set down, which may abundantly witness her singular love to God, and confident obedience

to her spiritual father. One day they two talking together (as at all times with reverence she was bold to disclose her whole mind unto him, and willing to be as thoroughly known to him as to herself), she requested him to satisfy her in a matter of no small importance touching her own estate. After she had opened the whole case to him, and he had examined every point and circumstance thereof, and finding her without fault or blame at all (which she more scrupulously suspected than she had cause), he sent her away in good contentation and quietness of spirit.

After that, three or four months at the least, the same father being desirous to make some especial proof of her charity to God, and obedience to her ghostly father, moved talk again with her as concerning the same matter, and feigning himself to have more advisedly considered of it, and also have read more of such cases, told her that she had offended God in the first doing of it, and should daily sin if she continued to do the same; at which speeches she fetched a deep sigh, and said nothing. He, expecting her answer, asked her: "What she would do in it?" "In truth," quoth she, "I am heartily sorry that I offended God in doing it at the beginning, yet by His grace (though it be the great cross that ever could have happened to me in this life, and the malicious world will be ready to condemn me of worse than the thing is indeed) I will with all my heart make here an end. Rather than I offend God herein any more, I will sustain any temporal rebuke or reproach. Therefore, if you speak the word, I am ready to obey it with perfect love and obedience to God and His priest." Her ghostly father marvelled not a little, and assuring [her] that the matter was in good case as he had told her before, he willed her never after to trouble herself or any other with the same. Thus she was to God most charitable, and for His sake (that she might more certainly work His will) of rare obedience to her ghostly father.

One thing more, among many, it will not be inconvenient to report of her love to God, and fear to displease Him. It chanced that a little after the impious and bloody statute stood in force against all Catholic priests and aiders, a Catholic man (which sometime before had served God in her house) came to her, and in the way and manner of friendly advice willed her to be more careful of herself, and since that virtue and the Catholic cause was now made treason and felony, that either she would not with such danger receive any priests at all, or else very seldom; and this he added also, that it was no wisdom to admit her children and others to God's service, and that she ought not to adventure upon these things without licence of her husband. After such other like speech he departed, leaving her in some discontentment by reason of his uncharitable talk. She not having leisure or opportunity in three days after to impart this unto her ghostly father, and he then being ready to depart from her, she took him aside, and desired that she might ask him one question, "which," quoth she, "I never doubted of, yet by some speech from a Catholic, it hath troubled my mind these two or three days together. May I not," said she, "receive priests and serve God as I have done, notwithstanding these new laws, without my husband's consent?" "What think you," quoth he, "in this matter?" "Truly," quoth she, "hitherto I have been desirous to serve God, and both to know and do my duty in receiving His servants, and have put my whole confidence in you, that I might safely walk by your direction without sin: and I know not how the rigour of these new statutes may alter my duty in this thing: but [if] you will tell me that I offend God in any point, I will not do it for all the world." "Then," quoth he, "it is your husband's most safety not to know these things unless he were resolved to serve God notwithstanding any danger; again, by his consent and licence you should

not serve God at all, and in this, your necessary duty to God, you are not any whit inferior to him. Neither doth the cruelties of wicked laws anything change or frustrate your duty to God: and therefore, an it were lawful and a good deed before these statutes to receive God's priests, and continually to serve Him in Catholic manner, the same is still lawful and well done; yea, and more meritorious in God's sight than ever it was. Besides this," quoth he, "no man can now refuse to receive them for fear of these laws, but he must be partaker in some part and guilty of the wickedness in the law and law-makers, as by his own deed giving them their intent, scope, and effect, which is to banish God's priests from their sheep, and abandon [*i.e.* banish] the Catholic religion and faith out of the whole realm." At which words she, stricken with great joy, said: "I thank you, Father. By God's grace all priests shall be more welcome to me than ever they were, and I will do what I can to set forward God's Catholic service." "Then," quoth he, merrily, but yet always he thought it would happen to her reward, "you must prepare your neck for the rope." "God's will be done," said she; "but I am far unworthy of that honour." Thus they departed: he with no less comfort to see her virtue, she to have her former liberty to serve God. Yet the same Father, and others also, hath heard her often in remembrance of that person, and his dissuasions of her duty to God, show great disliking towards him and said she made less account of him than she had done, and would not care how little she had to deal with such timorous Catholics, which would not only, through worldly fear, slack their own Christian duty, but would also be an instrument of the devil and of the heretics to discomfort and terrify such as would gladly do well.

Hereby you may perceive her singular love to God, from whom to be separated a short time in this life she accounted death. And yet, for the same love and

obedience to Him and His priests, ready for a season as it were to forego God, lest she should any way offend God.

CHAPTER VI.

OF HER CHARITY TO HER NEIGHBOURS.

AS she was in her own heart most lowly to God, most loving for His sake, to His priests singularly obedient, receiving and hearing them with reverence due to the messengers of God, so was she inflamed with marvellous love towards her neighbours, in setting down of which virtue, as I saw it in her, the iniquity of the time doth rather cause me to speak in general, [than] to descend to many of her particular good works, lest by touching either the proper name or the state of any, which are not in body delivered from the heretics' tyranny, I should give light and intelligence when to vomit out their spite and fury upon the secret servants of God.

Over these, therefore, she had a special care, which were her neighbours and citizens, or (as she used much to call them) her brethren or sisters in the Catholic Church, if they were in prison, or other furnace of trial, by all comforts and means she could devise, to make their burden light, and Christ's yoke to savour sweet to them; if they were Catholics abroad, and yet not void of tribulation (for that the heretics, as the natural whelps of the devouring lion that seeketh everywhere whom he may destroy, permitteth none peaceably to enjoy either spiritual consolation or bodily quietness) to procure them help and comfort both of soul and body; if they were schismatics, to reduce them again to the Catholic unity; if they were heretics, and she had any hope of their conversion, or through some familiar acquaintance with them doubted not of their secrecy, to have them instructed in the true faith; and, finally, if they were malefactors or persecutors of God's

people, to pray most earnestly for their amendment and pardon of their malice. How have I wondered, good Lord, to see the charitable care, large providence, continual diligence, and toil of Thy servant, to bring all to Thee! To make Thee, her God, sweeter to them than their own lives, or all Thy created pleasures; to let all know the Catholic truth, without which there was no truth at all; to allure all men to love Thee, as she, by Thy grace, loved Thee; above all, to turn Thy wrath from the persecutors, and to have Thy holy Name glorified in every degree. How often hast Thou seen my secret heart rejoice and leap within me, when I saw and considered then an unworthy father to her, and I confess, O Lord, the abundant charity and good work of Thy daughter, which [Thy] hearty goodness enriched with plentiful graces to my comfort and instruction, and now in Thy most happy kingdom hast crowned with the just resplendent dignity of supreme honour, that with great hope I may cry to Thee by her, my blessed mother, whom I joyed so often here to have my virtuous daughter, Thou knowest, my God, and for the glory of Thy saint whom Thou so mightily hast glorified: I also will ever witness the same, how carefully she cast her charitable eye into every corner, where Thy secret servants lay desolate and afflicted, to get them fed with Thy heavenly food in due season, lest, for want of Thy banquet, they might happen to fall from Thee. How also she hath looked to their bodily needs, and procured to every one relief with discretion; with how much gladness hath she gathered together by ten or twelve Thy poor Catholic people at once, and brought to pass,—first to have them purified and fed with Thy gracious Sacraments; then their bodies refreshed with sufficient meat and drink; herself, with a marvellous gift from Thee of joy and humility, ministering and waiting on them diligently, and after refection providing money for every one according to their need. These now lament the unjust spoil and loss

of Thy handmaid, their common mother, and accuse, no doubt, with sorrowful hearts all the heretical cruelty, that hath injuriously bereft them of so provident a mother.

This one thing I mused many times to behold, her great gladness in the company of such as were fervent in the service of God and of virtuous life. Good Lord! how familiar and pleasant would she have been with them, very prompt and ready, with continual smiling countenance, to provide and help them forward in their good desire! The young children and novices of Christ's Church she liked greatly, and would embolden and encourage them in the way of virtue, not only by her own example, but also by some familiar or sweet counsel after her best fashion. And, contrariwise, how she lamentably misliked and loathed the state and company of worldling and lukewarm Catholics, which would not give themselves to virtue, neither for the example of good Catholics, nor the often calls and admonitions of God's messengers.

By this, her hearty gladness of all folks' well-doing, though by all her other actions any man might have known her true virtues, yet I most infallibly gathered a rare perfection of grace in her. For many in external show doth right well, and seem to want nothing necessary to a virtuous life, yet their imperfection is bewrayed in some spice of envious emulation to such as are no less virtuous than themselves, or are preferred before them. Others also have indeed ascended to some degree of goodness, and are not envious for grudging in the same way; yet they show their imperfections, are void of all joy and alacrity when some others (especially if they be of their own state and calling) is said to be equal with them, or preferred before them: insomuch that every word spoken in the commendations of others afflict their heart with noisome grief, which kind of grief and imperfection were far from the virtue of this glorious martyr: for her joy and comfort was no less of the well-doing of others than of her

own, because that she knew that God was equally honoured in them both.

Finally, her enemies (which for many years together, as they persecuted the Church of God, so left they no cruelty untried to destroy the Catholic faith and God's grace in her) were never excluded from her most ample charity; for they never so often practised wickedly against the Church herself, or any member of it, but she had this in her mouth: "I pray God amend them, forgive them, and give them grace to know their error and to amend it."

What shall I say of the many hard griefs and deep sighs I have heard and seen in her, when any loose Catholic lived in folly or fell from the unity of Christ's Church, or when any Catholic or schismatic departed this world to the terrible and just judgment of God? Upon all which events (though she were cast thereby into some anguish of mind) yet she gathered no small profit, for of the evil behaviour of others she received a reverent and a necessary fear of her own weakness, that might easily slide to the like follies, unless it were daily strengthened with God's grace, and served Him sincerely. By the woeful death of the rest she remembered in what danger she had been in, and how mercifully God had delivered her. By which consideration she greatly increased in her thankful love to Him again, and thought she could not honour Him worthily for such His goodness by all that she was able to devise.

But to end this her rare charity to her neighbours of every degree with their general reports, for this dark time may abide no more light, let those with woeful hearts witness more particularly the abundance of this virtue, which hath been relieved greatly by her means, and now with good cause bewail the want of such a friend, for I will pass briefly to other matter.

CHAPTER VII.

OF HER ZEAL AND FERVOUR IN THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

WHEN I would speak anything of her fervent zeal in the furthering of the true religion of God, I cannot tell where to begin, nor what to say equal with her doings. This I always manifestly saw in her, that her most care, thought, and study was to have God catholicly served, and by all means His truth known, and Him honoured. For after her deliverance out of prison she straightway provided place, and all things convenient, that God might be served in her house. The heretics themselves, though they [be] full of malice and wickedness, can witness her great provision for this purpose, all which they sacrilegiously spoiled and carried away to their own profane use, but with as much right and honesty as thieves deal with true men's purses. In all her affairs this was the chief that she cared for, to the which as to the end of Christian life, all her other actions were referred. Fervour overcame all fear, and her inflamed zeal to God's service consumed all worldly terrors. She would ever say: "I will not be afraid to serve God, and do well. This is a war and trial in God's Church, and therefore if I cannot [do] my duty without peril and dangers, yet by God's grace I will not be slacker for them. If God's priests dare venture themselves to my house, I will never refuse them." These and such like words I have heard from her mouth many times, when talk hath been moved of the dangers wherein all Catholics do live under the ravenous heretics.

And of that courage she was for the setting forth of God's service, that she would not fear or cease to attempt anything (wherein manifest danger appeared not) whereby God might be honoured, and herself and other receive

spiritual commodity. For this end she prepared two chambers, the one adjoining to her own house, whereunto she might resort at any time, without sight or knowledge of any neighbours. In this she served God every day in quiet and calm times, with her children and others. The other was distant a little from her own house, secret and unknown to any but such as she knew to be faithful and discreet, whereunto she could not daily resort without suspicion, nor at any time without the sight of her neighbours. This place she prepared for more troublesome and dangerous times, that God might be served there when her own was not thought to be safe, although she could not have access to it every day as she desired. Upon a time I asked her, why she would make that provision from her house, since she herself could not resort thither to serve God, not past once or twice in the week. "Well," said she, "my heart is with you, and I trust you remember me when I am toiling in the world. And though I cannot come as I desire, yet it doth me good and much comforteth me that I know I have you here, and that God is any way served by my means."

The ravening heretics can report to their shame and damnation how she had spared no cost to maintain her religion, and that they thought so much Church stuff had not been in a whole county as they found with her. And truly her fervent zeal was so vehement, that all she did seemed to her little or nothing, whereas others knew well, that with her it was more necessary to use the bridle than the spur.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF HER ALACRITY AND JOY IN MIND AND BODY.

NEITHER was this fervour without its happy effect and true reward in this life, which is peace, joy, and gladness of mind and body at all times, for all her actions were

tempered with all inward tranquillity and comfort, with discreet and honest mirth, with mild and smiling countenance; ready of tongue, but yet her words modest, and courteous, and lowly; quick in the despatch of business, and then most pleasant when she could the most serve God, or procure the same to others.

Good Lord! how joyful have I seen her when she had two or three Fathers at once. How would she laugh for inward joy to have God served in her house divers times in one day, and how she deceived the heretics. Her outward behaviour, so mild, so lowly and pleasant, that as it proceeded from her inward joy and comfort, so was it most grateful and comfortable to all that were conversant with her. So long as she had with her a ghostly Father to serve God, no time seemed wearisome; for after her household business were despatched, she would once or twice a day serve [him], and no trouble nor sorrow could make her heavy during this time.

In one thing she could never overcome herself, that was, in the absence of a priest, to be merry or without heaviness, for that time she thought herself desolate, and ever suspected that for some fault which God saw in her, she was unworthy of them. What secret sighing have I heard suddenly burst from her, and what sorrowful cheer have I spied in her unawares for the departing of her ghostly Father, and especially when he was to pass some danger, or to abide long from her; for she ever feared that if anything should happen to him, others afterward would be more unwilling to come to her, and so she should remain without the service of God, in the which she had her greatest comfort. And surely I remember not that ever I have seen her cast into any sorrow or heaviness (the gracious penance and grief for sin, and the trouble of God's Church, and loss of souls excepted), but only for the want of a priest and God's service. If any priest had passed that town and had not seen her, she would not have

been a little troubled, and have thought herself to have lost no small benefit.

Thus in all her actions she served God with joy and gladness, without fretting or lumpish mind, beginning here [that] blessed peace, which God in this vale of misery granted in some imperfect sort to His servants, which He now hath perfected in her by the abundance of her exceeding joy in heaven.

CHAPTER IX.

OF HER DEVOTION AND SPIRITUAL EXERCISE.

HER devotion and spiritual exercise were no less excellent than her other virtues, and all most worthy to be imitated. I will not speak as she used them during the time of her imprisonment, for she thought that God sent her thither, as to a school, principally to learn how to serve Him in this world. Judge, therefore, by her exercise at home (where she was laden with necessary household business) what she did in prison, where she had no such cares, but good time and opportunity to attend only to serve God, and the gathering of spiritual riches. In these things she utterly forsook herself, and would not in anywise follow her own fantasy, but committed all wholly to the guiding and direction of her ghostly Father. No prayer seemed sweet unto her, no time convenient, no order straight, unless he had first perused them, and judged them meet for her. Every morning ordinarily, before she took in hand any worldly matter, she continued secret in her chamber one hour and a half, or most often two hours, praying upon her knees, and meditating upon the Passion of Christ, the benefits of God bestowed upon her, her own sins and present estate of her soul, &c. Immediately after which time (if her husband or some importunate business letted her not) she came to her spiritual Father's chamber to hear the divine mysteries, and with him to offer to God

the Father His dear Son, sacrificed upon the holy altar by His priests for the quick and dead. If there had been two Fathers to celebrate, she would have been present at both, unless on some occasion her ghostly Father had willed her to depart, or some extreme necessity had called her away. Her most delight was to kneel where she might continually behold the Blessed Sacrament, and usually she chose her place next the door, behind all the rest, in the worst and the base seats, and most unseemly corner in all the chamber. After service, when she had committed her and all her works that day to the protection of God, she occupied herself in necessary worldly affairs, endeavouring all the day long to have her mind fixed on God. And to this end she strove marvellously with herself not to begin anything in her house before she had lifted up her mind to God first, desiring Him that she might do His pleasure to His honour, and to do her duty in it rather to fulfil His blessed will thereby, than for any worldly respect.

Divers times, for want of this good actual intention (as it was impossible in so many and divers affairs to have it in every particular action), she would reprove herself greatly, and say to her ghostly Father, "Now, for God's sake, pray for me; methinks I do nothing well because I overslipped this right intention, which God's servants should always have actually, to refer all my doing to His glory."

Her devotions all the rest of the day were as she could get leisure; which almost she never had until four of the clock in the afternoon, about which time she would shake off the world and come to evening-song, where she, praying one hour with her children about her, afterward returned again about her care of the household until eight or nine of the clock, at which time she used to resort to her ghostly Father's chamber to pray a little and ask his blessing, which of her own humility she did, and would not slip and forget at morning and night. From thence, going

to her chamber, she ordinarily spent an hour at the least in prayer and examining of her conscience, how she had offended God that day.

Twice a week she frequented the Holy Sacraments of Confession and Eucharist, if her Father had thought expedient, and although she received sometimes not twice a week, she would be very importunate with him every Wednesday and Sunday to be shriven, that in God's sight her conscience might be clear and pure from sin.

Truly, if I should endeavour to tell her humility, her hearty contrition, and sorrow for her small imperfections, the loathsomeness she conceived of her sinful and unprofitable life in the world, as unworthy of any benefits from God and His creatures, with tears shed for her offences, the sighs and lamentations that she could not serve God with as much liberty at all times as she desired, by reason of her worldly cares: if I should set down the love and wonderful affection she bare to His sacraments: with what care, simplicity, lowliness, and sincerity she revealed to her ghostly Father the bottom of her heart, conscience, and every corner and secret inclination, I should, I confess, want words, and for all that could not come near to that which the thing required. I will therefore speak no more thereof: *Secretum meum mihi*—"The secret shall be to myself."

As then I admired her, so now I do more and more, hoping by her blessed intercession to emulate some little part of that virtue and purity which I know to be in her; for if her graces were in her frailty of such efficacy and force, that she never came to confession to me but before her departure I was cast into some extraordinary joy of mind, and a most comfortable remorse of my own sins, verily I doubt not but in her secular [*i.e.* eternal] glory she will be mindful of me, and procure me those graces which she knoweth me to want.

And Thou, O my God! the searcher of all secrets, hast

seen how often Thy plentiful graces, wherewith Thou hadst beautified her, did stir up my soul to Thee in hearty remembrance of my own miseries, whereby I saw myself far off from Thee, and wished but to be so gracious in Thy favour as she Thy servant was, whom here Thy goodness did adorn with so rare gifts, and prepared as Thy loving spouse to so gracious a marriage day, that she might so victoriously enter Thy triumphant city in her bloody scarlet robe.

In the time of her receiving the Blessed Sacrament of Christ His Body, she ever coveted to have the lowest place, so far as she could do it without trouble and noisomeness to others, for she would [not] seem to any to desire it. Whilst she received, her lowly and gracious countenance was washed with sweet tears trickling from her eyes. Afterward she would depart for half an hour into some close corner, where she might familiarly enjoy the delights of her God, whom she had brought into the secret parlour of her heart, and all the day after she would be merry and smiling, yet most wary to keep her senses shut, lest she should by negligence or false security be robbed of her treasure.

A marvellous desire she had once a week at least to hear a virtuous exhortation by her ghostly Father, and would sometimes make secret motions and signs to him of this secret desire; sometimes also reverently request him to speak something for such audience as she would provide, which thing she did commonly at those times when strangers, or such as could get opportunity to serve God and be present at exhortations, were assembled, so careful she was of every man's well-doing.

When she had leisure, she most delighted to read the New Testament of Rheims Translation, Kempis of the *Following of Christ*, Perin's *Exercise*, and such like spiritual books. I have heard her say, "if that it pleased God so to dispose, and set her at liberty from the world, she would with all

her heart take upon her some religious habit, whereby she might ever serve God under obedience." And to this end (not knowing what God would do with her) she learned our Lady's Matins in Latin.

CHAPTER X.

OF HER ABSTINENCE.

So long as she was in prison she fasted four days every week, (for so did all there, partly for lack of necessary victual, partly to satisfy for their former sins, partly for the greater merit, and the sooner to procure God's grace again to His afflicted Church). The same abstinence she slacked not any time after she was delivered, but kept it still as no less necessary for her spiritual good in the world, than it was in prison. Every Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday she abstained from flesh, and [had] but one meal a day. Every Friday she fasted [on] bread and drink, afflicting her body with some sharp discipline, when she could have licence of her ghostly Father.

And, notwithstanding this, she was of very good liking, as though she had fared most daintily every day. Her most desire was to eat rye bread, milk, or pottage and butter. This cheer she preferred before all others. Nothing did more grieve her than to be invited to banquets abroad, where (she said) she "could never but exceed her ordinary measure, and by reason of company and by diversities of meats eat more plentifully than she wished." Wherefore, to avoid this inconvenience, she would devise many excuses and shift off her husband's importunity (who, loving company himself, desired to take her with him), by feigning some urgent business, where indeed that time she would have spared from superfluous feeding her body, and employed it to feed the soul by prayer and meditations.

In her diet she had so mortified and overcome herself, that neither she desired delicate fare, nor at the table if one piece had been better than another, would she have taken it, but carved it to others, and have pleased herself with the worst. She used also, after she was set at meat, to say an *Ave Maria*, or to elevate her mind a little to God by some short meditation before she would move her hand to anything upon the table.

CHAPTER XI.

OF HER PILGRIMAGE.

AFTER the priests had first suffered martyrdom at Knavesmire, (all which at most had been her ghostly Fathers,) and by their holy blood and death had sanctified their reproachful gallows, she greatly desired often to visit that place, for she called it her pilgrimage; and thither she would go, accompanied with two or three virtuous women. This being the common place for execution for all sorts of malefactors, distant half a mile from the city of York, made the passage sometime more difficult to her, because she might not adventure thither but by night because of spies, and only at such time as her husband was from home. Her desire was greatly often to go thither, where so many her ghostly Fathers had shed their blood in witness of the Catholic faith, where they had triumphed over the world, the flesh, and the devil, from whence they had ascended into heaven, where she earnestly wished (if it were God's will) for the same Catholic cause to end her life, and where she hoped one day God should be glorified in the memory of His martyrs. But by reason of this wicked time, her ghostly Father thought not good to permit her so often to go as she desired.

As I remember she went barefoot to the place, and kneeling on her bare knees ever under the gallows, medi-

tated and prayed so long as her company would suffer her. As I understand, her desire and request was, after she was condemned, that she might be carried to this place to suffer what cruelty they pleased, but they would not grant it; no doubt but by God's Providence that her glorious death might sanctify some other profane place, and that thou most wicked and ungrateful city, mightest in time to come behold in the midst of thine own heart, for a perpetual shame to thine own cruelty, in murthering so rare a Margaret, as thou wast not worthy of, and for extinguishing such a light as was not to be found in many realms the like. One day a most corrupt and loathsome sink of iniquity, thou shalt be honoured and excel many nations, not for the cruelty that is in thee but for the famous victory and abundant merits of this martyr. Thy children surely shall lament in time to come, and be ashamed of this thy barbarous fact, and humbly crave her to be their patron and mother of life and prosperity whom thou hast denied life unto, and which the height of thy heretical fury hath pressed to death. Oh, if thou couldst see and consider the time of thy visitation, how the blood of many saints, yea, the blood of thine own daughter, hastened God's vengeance upon thee; and yet thou hardened more thy obstinate heart, that thou in this thy wicked and faithless generation mayest be speedily rooted up, and the next humbly acknowledge their most glorious citizen, and abhor their fathers' cruelty.

Sometimes also she used to go on pilgrimage, but not in any prohibited manner; as, when she was invited with her neighbours to some marriage or banquet in the country, she would devise twenty means to serve God that day more than any other at home; for she would take horse with the rest, and after that she had ridden a mile out of the city, one should be there ready provided to go in her stead, and all that day she would remain in some place nigh hand, where she might quietly serve God, and learn of her ghostly

Father some part of her Christian duty as her heart most desired, and at night return home again with the rest as though she had been a feasting all the day long.

This she used even from the beginning of her conversion, at which time also she procured some neighbours to feign the travail of some woman, that she might under that colour have access and abide with her ghostly Father the longer to be instructed in the necessary points of Catholic religion.

CHAPTER XII.

OF HER MARVELLOUS DESIRE TO SUFFER FOR CHRIST AND HIS TRUTH.

AFTER her first conversion, but especially after her first public conflict with heretics, she never feared nor once shrunk at any worldly affliction or pain sustained for the Catholic faith and her conscience; but was most desirous and as willing to suffer as the enemy was to afflict her. In this desire she obtained such perfection, that when she was quiet from the assaults of the heretics, she would not let escape almost one day, if she might have had her own will, without something voluntarily taken whereby she might suffer pain either of body or of mind. It was her daily prayer that she might be worthy to suffer anything for God's sake. And when the cross came indeed, as she was not often without one or other, she rejoiced so much in it that she would say that she feared to offend God with too much gladness. When we had been talking of these dangerous times, wherein as appeareth heretics are sorry to spare any cruelty, and it hath been told her that it could not be but the devil would storm at the daily serving of God, which was brought to pass by her means, and stir up his ministers to hinder so great a good, and that certainly their malice would be deadly against her; that if she escaped their bloody hands, yet

she should be cast into perpetual prison, she would with smiling countenance wag her head and say, "I pray God His will may be done, and I [may] have that which He seeth most fit for me. But I see not in myself any worthiness of martyrdom; yet, if it be His will, I pray Him that I may be constant and persevere to the end. As for all that the heretics can do, I fear it not a whit."

She thought herself not in good case that she was so often delivered out of prison, and would say that she was unworthy so high a calling.

As for her desire to suffer for God's cause, it may appear by her last apprehension and martyrdom, which I will set down a little after. But she knowing how precious a gift and benefit of God it was to suffer for His cause any cross, she was also willing it should be imparted to others, and would no less be joyful of their patience than of her own, ever praying for their perseverance to the end. When she had heard any Catholic to be persecuted, or shut in more close prison, or debarred from things necessary, or otherwise cruelly dealt with, she would say, "They are most happy. I pray God give them patience and joy." And again, if she had heard of any to shrink or fear persecution, she would lament and sorrow, and marvel what Catholics meant to receive such infinite good so unwillingly. Although she were most careful and charitable to relieve the hungry, and ease the affliction of all Catholics, either in prison or elsewhere, yet could she not abide to hear that in their distresses any should murmur, impatiently repine, or be careful to escape such accidents, and [would] say, "Jesu, methinks if they considered thoroughly these things, they should be so mortified that no such trouble nor affliction could grieve them, but rather be glad of every cross for Christ's sake."

I have heard her many times wish heartily that, if it were God's will, she might be in prison all her life,

to ease the griefs of such as were there discontented, to suffer by any painstaking for them. Finally, although she exceeded in compassion, yet never saw I her heavy or sorrowful for the poverty, tribulation, or persecution which fell to any so long as they showed their patience and gladness to suffer for God's sake; whereas, if she had seen any contrary disposition or behaviour in them, she would have sighed and lamented, and earnestly have prayed for them.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF HER CONTEMPT OF THE WORLD, AND ALL PLEASURES THEREOF.

WITH this great desire to suffer for God's cause all sorts of crosses, was joined as rare a contempt and hatred of the world and of all the vanities and pleasures therein, she accounting them all temptations and baits to deceive Christian souls, and therefore to be taken heed of and eschewed as mortal enemies. In selling and buying her wares she was very wary to have the worth of them, as both her neighbours uttered the like, as also to satisfy her duty to her husband, which committed all to her trust and discretion; yet she would say that she suffered greater and oftener conflicts in dealing in this worldly trade of buying and selling, as it is the occasion of many waste words, loss of time, and distraction of the mind from God, than in all her other affairs besides. And therefore she was in hand often with her husband to give up his shop, and to sell his wares in gross with as much gain and with less unprofitable toil. For riches she desired none, but prayed God that her children might have virtuous and Catholic education, which only she wished to be their portion, and would say that, generally, the more folks grew in wealth the further they were from God, and less disposed to do well. And therefore in all

her husband's losses she would be exceeding merry and say, "Yet he hath too much, he cannot lift up his head to God for weight of his goods; I pray God he may by these casualties know God and serve Him."

Her ghostly Father hath said to her sometimes, "I marvel your losses enter no further into your mind to abate some part of your accustomed gladness." "Nay, God defend," would she say, "God giveth, and He hath taken them away again; farewell they, for I will not be sorry for the loss of any temporal matters. I pray God we may well use to God's honour the rest we have." This was all the care that ever I saw her take for worldly chances and damages. As for all other worldly pleasures, she had ever from the beginning of her conversion so abandoned them, that they molested her not once in the whole year. This contempt of the world she wished also greatly in others, and would marvellously lament to see such as knew well their Catholic duty to God, for the love of riches or pleasures of the world, to neglect the same.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF HER DISCRETION AND PRUDENCE IN ALL HER BUSINESSES.

IT would cause any man to admire the gifts of God in her if he should thoroughly have known her ready wit, discretion, and prudence in contriving and despatching all her business, but those especially wherein she had to deal with heretics about the Catholic cause for God's honour and help of herself and others. If the difficulty had appeared never so great, and the thing almost desperate, by her advice it would have been lessened, and continually brought to pass without much danger. Her vehement fervour to serve [God] herself, and to teach others their duty therein, caused her now and then to

adventure more than in these ungracious times might be thought convenient to timorous and worldly wise men; as to admit every one that desired to her house for spiritual comfort, rather than they should have remained comfortless, by which great resort, they all being not so staunch of tongue as was necessary, her house became more notorious than the whole town besides. Her zeal bewrayed her, for none knew her but they were assured she would not be without a priest, if any could be gotten in the whole country. Moreover, the confidence she had in so just and godly a cause, and the exceeding commodity she should gain thereby whatsoever befell, consumed all fears in her, and caused her the less to prevent common dangers, except they had been apparent.

One thing only in all her doings may perhaps seem, and be judged void of discretion, which was to let the children in her house be acquainted with the privy conveyance for safety, as they were once in the absence of her ghostly Father; I know not whether by her own means or knowledge, or if it were done by her consent (though it ever disliked me, and I wished it had been otherwise), yet I, for my part, dare not condemn her for indiscretion for so doing: first, because her intention was sincere and good, and the danger not much, the place being without her own house, where the raveners were not likely to have come again. She might do it to ease some priests labour, for the entry was painful to him that was not acquainted with the door, by reason of the straitness thereof, and yet large enough for a boy. And lastly, because by that means, God had appointed (as it fell out indeed) she should begin her martyrdom to His glory and her own felicity, and the just punishment of many. Let the worldly wise heads scan of this one fact as they think good. If it were not by her own consent (as in good faith I know not certain), their rash and foolish surmises are deceived. And I rather think it was done in the beginning by some

other without her knowledge, she oftentimes being absent when things in that place should have been occupied of necessity. But howsoever it chanceth, God knoweth; some[times] the wisest alive may in some one particular action want such discretion as was requisite, and yet, nevertheless, remain wise and discreet still.

Her discretion was marvellous to them that perfectly knew her dealings, and as I not seldom admired it myself, so have I heard others of no small judgment do the same, and say, "they never saw the like prudency in any woman, and that they learned more wisdom by her behaviour than ever they had done by the conversation and example of men in any degree."

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE LOVE SHE HAD AMONGST HER NEIGHBOURS.

As God had enriched her with His gifts of rare discretion and prudency in all her doings, so disposed sweetly to her hand all external helps to set forth and bring to effect her good purposes. For He gave her a singular grace to have great good will and favour in the sight of her husband and neighbours; insomuch, that not only Catholics, but also schismatics, yea, and well-natured heretics would both be glad of her company, and also be most ready to do what she desired them. Some heretics, suspecting the truth indeed [that] she used daily to have God's service Catholicly in her house, would be so careful to conceal her doings and give intelligence when they learned of any danger likely to befal, as though it had been their own affairs. Other some, also, fearing that themselves or theirs should be brought by her example and means to do well, and (as men choked with worldly desires and their own sensualities), would now and then burst forth into inconvenient and dangerous speeches, if they had been uttered in the audience of malicious people, which, when she had

understanded, she would have gone unto them, and with one word have stopped their mouths, won their favour, and made them sure to her.

Truly, in this grace, she passed all other which ever I saw. Every one loved her, and would have ventured for her more than for themselves, thinking to have a jewel (as indeed they had a most precious Margaret), so long as she dwelt among them. How would they run to her for help, comfort, and counsel, in their distresses, and how familiarly would she use them, and with all courtesy and friendship relieve them.

I have known some myself to whom she hath used some matters of weight, as this heretical times goeth, who, after a few words, would yield to her, and say, "For God's sake do what you will, and I am content." Such grace she found in the sight almost of every person, except they were furious and hot blasphemous heretics, void of all good nature, or desperately malicious. Her servants also carried that reverent love to her, that, notwithstanding they knew when priests frequented her house, and she would reasonably sharply correct them for their faults and negligences, yet they had as great a care to conceal her secrets as if they had been her natural children.

Sometimes I asked her "how she durst be so sharp with her servants when they offended by slacking their duties, since they might procure to her much danger if they revealed, upon any displeasure or grief, the priest's being there." She would answer, "God defend that for my Christian liberty in serving Him in my house I should neglect my duty to my servants, or not to correct them as they deserve. God shall dispose all as it pleaseth Him: but I will not be blamed for their faults, nor fear any danger for this good cause." Whereby plainly appeareth that she had a marvellous liberty of heart to serve God.

CHAPER XVI.

OF THE PERSECUTION SHE SUFFERED AMONG THE GOOD.

IN this her happy course I noted much one thing, which methought was an infallible sign both of her own rare virtue, aud also that she was most dear to God; this was that, almost continually after her first conversion, she suffered persecution, not only for her invincible constancy in the Catholic faith by heretics, but also for her true virtue by some one or other emulous Catholic. If the heretics had perhaps ceased their rage, as they did seldom, and given her a short calm, forthwith some Catholic raised a storm against her, and often, at the same time, she did bear the assaults of them both together. I can well call to mind, for that I both heard and saw it myself, and yet never without a great admiration of God's merciful and unsearchable Providence therein, how she hath been in this kind of trial tossed and every way afflicted; how, without all cause and probable show of cause, she hath been assaulted, not indifferently by every Catholic (for with the most and best, she was rightly esteemed of an especial virtue and good life), but by such as were bound to her by many and singular benefits, themselves of no good desert for the same, and also nothing comparable to her in any degree of virtuous life, although externally they might be thought of no small perfection. What ungracious surmises and false judgments have some in their secret hearts conceived against her, who could worse brook her well-doings than some such as of her own good will and rare courtesy she laboured to please, and with no small benefits and her own pains to pleasure, and was she not then most misliked by them, when she did her best? Imperfect virtue, and yet perfect self-love, in this kind of adversary ungratefully imagined her chiefest virtues

to be their most hindrance; her praise to be their discredit; her joy and continual gladness to be their sorrow and discomforts; peevishly gathered to themselves most bitter and hurtful poison out of her sweet and gracious flowers.

I can witness the very secrets of her heart, that she was both as willing to help and pleasure every one, but Catholics principally, and as heartily rejoiced in their comforts and well-doing as she did in her own, and that all her inward contentions and outward behaviours proceeded from singular charity, and might well have been a perfect example for the most I knew; in every respect innocent and blameless; and yet all this would not stay the rancour of the enemies' slanderous tongues in some foolish Catholics [more] than her constant faith stayed the furious cruelties of heretics. So that she passed not in any company without her crosses, which truly she bare so meekly, and with that quietness and tranquillity of mind, that her virtue appeared more in them than in any other thing. For in this undeserved trouble she rejoiced exceedingly, and withal would heavily lament her persecutors' hurt. And, indeed, she thought this the heaviest cross of all, to see them, upon some false conceit against her, so uncharitably offend God; although, also, she simply thought herself worthy of no other, but to be on every hand molested and persecuted, and with exceeding desire and joy suffered all that heretics could devise against her, accounting them as the enemies of God, and of all goodness, yet could she never but sorrow and think much with herself when Catholics, which professed virtue, would move themselves without cause against her. When this chanced, she would sit down with great humility, and bewail her own state, fearing that she were the cause of their offence, and that something lay secret in her which might be the cause of their unquietness; yet she would not by all means cease to pacify them, and humbly to let them see wherein they were deceived; and still she kept a most pure and hearty love to them,

imputing all the fault either to herself or to the illusions of the enemy, seeing it is but the enemy that seeketh to weaken charity amongst us, and to hinder us of well-doing.

The innocency of her own conscience, the example of Abel and Joseph, which were not persecuted by strangers, but by their own brethren; the example of Christ Himself, which was betrayed, not by His open enemies, but by his own apostle, Judas; the example of Christ's Church, vexed not so much by infidels as by heretics, once her own children, did much comfort her in all this kind of temptation; and to them that saw all, and more deeply considered the marvellous judgment of God over His elect in this miserable life, clearly appeared her true happiness by these dealings. Virtue never wanted two adversaries: the one an open enemy, the other an envious brother, as David saith: *Pro eo ut me diligerent, detrahebant mihi*—"Instead that they should love me, they did backbite me." And, again, of the other side he saith: *Si inimicus meus maledixisset mihi sustinuissem utique, et si is qui oderat me super me magna locutus fuisset, abscondissem me forsitan ab eo: tu vero, homo unanimis, dux meus, et notus meus, qui simul mecum dulces capiebas cibos, in domo Dei ambulavimus cum consensu:* "If mine enemy had spoken evil of me, truly I had sustained it; or if he which hated me had boasted over me, perhaps I had hid myself from him: but thou, a man of mine own mind, my guide, and mine acquaintance, which hast eaten sweet meats together with me: and, with consent, walked together in the house of God."

So I doubt not but her victorious end confoundeth the one, and, I trust, calleth the other to repentance, procuring grace and amendment to them both from the triumphant glory where she reigneth with God, unless they hinder it themselves by their unworthiness.

It chanced upon a time that she accompanied her

husband to a neighbour's house to banquet, and after meat (I know not upon what occasion) talk was ministered of Catholic religion and Catholics; and her husband, liberal of tongue among the pots, spoke such like words as these, with an oath or two: "I cannot tell," quoth he, "what Catholics are. They will fast, pray, give alms, and punish themselves more than we all, but they are of as evil disposition in other things as we;" and uttered, moreover, some slanderous words against them, the which she hearing, and knowing none to be Catholic but herself in that company, could not abstain from vehement weeping. Her husband called her "fool," and said he meant not those words by her, for, indeed, he would ever report that he could wish no better wife than she was, except only for two great faults, as he thought, and those were, because she fasted too much, and would not go with him to the church. But all her neighbours, knowing her virtue, comforted her, saying that her husband spake but merrily, and meant no such matter as he said. She answered: "I pray God forgive him," and no more. This matter troubled her all night; and the day following she came in heaviness to her ghostly father, and opened all to him, complaining much of her own imperfection, that she could not contemn all such slanders. He asked her what was the cause of her vehement weeping at that time, and that, in recounting the matter to him, she still remained sorrowful. "Truly, Father," said she, "I was not then, nor am I now, anything at all sorry in respect of myself, for, I thank God, I have ever been a true and a chaste wife to my husband, both in thought and deed; God and mine own conscience doth witness it; but it grieveth mine heart that he should so heinously offend God by slandering Catholics and the Catholic Church, whereby I fear me he shall more hardly come to God's grace, and be a member of His Church. This thing only caused me to weep, and maketh me sorry still when I think on it." Such crosses as these now and

then she suffered by her husband and others, yet always much grieved for the offence to God, and their harm, and nothing at all for her own injury.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF HER DILIGENCE IN OBSERVING OTHER FOLK'S VIRTUES.

IN all her conversation with priests and Catholics, one thing she most diligently observed, and that was to mark in what virtue every one did most excel, which she gathered together for the beautifying of her own soul and conversation. Sometimes she would with great joy remember what Father Hart, Father Thirkeld, Father Kirkman, with other martyrs and priests, used to say or do virtuously; and if she had not seen the same in some other, for that she earnestly desired to see every one decked with spiritual beauty, she would recite for their instruction what good she heard or saw in such a Father. So that, in truth, she had collected, as a honey bee, of every flower some honey, both for her own store and her neighbour's, that it might be aptly verified in her, which the wise man saith, *Multæ filiæ congregaverunt divitias, tu supergressa es universas:* "Many daughters have heaped together riches, but thou hast gone above them all." And every one might have learned true wisdom, unfeigned humility, patient fortitude, perfect charity, fervent mildness, or any other virtue by her example, for she had drawn plenty of them out of many fountains.

Let this, therefore, which I have reported truly thus far of her life, be enough for others to conjecture what a Margaret she was, that God hath now so gloriously exalted by martyrdom, the devil so deeply maliced, heretics so unjustly murthered, and all Catholics so heartily lamented to be taken from them. And when they shall see her last conflict with hell, the world, and the flesh, let them remem-

ber always that so rare a victory could not have been gotten without the foundation of a more gracious life than I could have written in so brief a treatise, and rather with great diligence endeavour to imitate this her first martyrdom of a virtuous life, wherein the chiefest glory in this life consisteth, than curiously to know in what sort she obtained the second of a virtuous death.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF HER APPREHENSION.

IN the year of our Saviour's Incarnation, 1586, the 28th of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the 10th day of March, when the blessed martyr had remained about one year and a half in her own house at liberty under bands, the Lord Ewers [Eure], Vice-President, Mr. Meares, Mr. Hurleston, and Mr. Cheeke, Counsellors at York, sent for Mr. Clitherow to appear before them in the morning. They rebuked him that he had not waited upon them the day before as they had commanded. He answered that he gave attendance according to their commandment, and departed seeing them greatly so busied in other matters, having long expected their opportunity. After some few words, they commanded him to return to them again immediately after dinner, which he did. The martyr, hearing of this, and having good experience of their subtleties, feared the worst; and when her husband was departed, she came to the Father, which came to her but that morning, and said: "The Council hath commanded my husband to be with them again. I pray God they intend no falschood, and now, whilst they have him, make my house to be searched. They pick quarrels at me," quoth she, "and they will never cease until they have me again, but God's will be done." She had sent without the knowledge of her husband, more than one year before,

her eldest son into France for virtuous education and learning, hoping one day to see him a priest, the which she most desired. The Council at York, after a while, had intelligence of it, and greatly stormed thereat, yet lingered to deal in the matter, which caused her husband, as one timorous of their unreasonable cruelty, to be more unwilling to go unto them when they first sent for him, thinking that it was to answer that matter, which, being done without his consent or knowledge, he might well have answered, if they had been reasonable, and not rather furious to destroy all before them, whom they might have gotten without any show of cause.

As the martyr suspected, so they deceitfully practised indeed, and sent forthwith the sheriffs of York, with divers other heretics, to search her house. They found the martyr occupied in her household business. The priest was in his chamber, which was in the next neighbour's house, and some other persons with him, and being forthwith certified of the searchers, they were all safely shifted away into a lower chamber of her house. There was a schoolmaster named Mr. Stapleton, who had escaped a little before out of the Castle, where he had lain almost seven years for the Catholic faith, teaching her own children, with other two or three boys besides. Whiles he was quietly teaching his scholars, not knowing what was done in the house below, a ruffian bearing a sword and buckler on his arm, opened the chamber door, and suspecting the schoolmaster to be a priest, he shut again the door, and called his fellows. The schoolmaster, thinking him to be a friend, opened the door to call him in; but when he perceived the matter, he shut the door again, and by that way, which was from the martyr's house to the priest's chamber, escaped their paws. The searchers, greedy of a prey, came in great haste to the chamber, and not finding him, they raged like madmen, and as though he had been a priest indeed, took all the

children, the servants, and the martyr away with them. At this time they searched chests, coffers, and every corner of her house; but, as I learned, they found nothing of any importance. Then they stripped a boy, about ten or twelve years old, and with rods threatened him, standing naked amongst them, unless he would tell them all they asked. The child, fearing that cruelty, yielded, and brought them to the priest his chamber, wherein was a conveyance for books and church stuff, which he revealed. They took the spoil, and conveyed two or three beds away as their own. The children and the servants were all sent to divers prisons. The martyr was brought before the Council, and being merry and stout for the Catholic cause, thereby moved their fury vehemently against her, especially by her smiling cheerful countenance, and the small esteem she made of their cruel threats and railing. They kept both her husband and herself in several places until night, when about seven of the clock they committed the martyr unto close prison to the Castle, and her husband also in like case an hour after.

What more was said or done that day before the Council I could not learn as yet. The martyr came to prison in so wet a bath, that she was glad to borrow all kind of apparel to shift her that night. The boy accused more that he had seen in the martyr's house at Divine Service; among whom was Mistress Anne Tesh, who was also committed to the Castle the 12th of March, being Saturday, and continued in a chamber with the martyr until Monday following, which was the first day of the Assizes in York.

All this time the martyr kept great abstinence and prayer, and was so merry and joyful of her trouble, that she would say, she feared to offend God thereby.

A rumour was spread in the town, that the boy had accused her for harbouring and maintaining divers priests, but especially two by name, that was, Mr. Francis Ingleby

of Rheims, and Mr. John Mush of Rome. It was reported withal that she should suffer for it according to the new law and statute. When word was brought to her of this, she laughed, and said to the messenger: "I would I had some good thing to give you for these good news. Hold, take this fig, for I have nothing better." The boy that accused her, was born in Flanders of an Englishman and a Dutch woman, and had been brought from thence almost two years before.

Once the martyr was permitted to speak with her husband in the audience of the gaoler and other more, but she never saw him after, notwithstanding all which both their friends could labour for it, unless she would yield to do something against her conscience.

Upon Monday she looked to be arraigned before the judges, and made herself ready against she should be called. Sometimes she would say unto her sister Tesh: "Sister, we are so merry together that, unless we be parted, I fear me we shall come to lose [the merit] of our imprisonment." A little before she was called to the judges, she said: "Yet, before I go, I will make all my brethren and sisters on the other side of the hall merry;" and looking forth of a window toward them—they were five-and-thirty, and might easily behold her from thence—she made a pair of gallows on her fingers, and pleasantly laughed at them. After dinner the gaoler told her how she must go even then before the judges. "Well," quoth she, "God be thanked, I am ready when you please."

CHAPTER XIX.

OF HER ARRAIGNMENT.

THE 14th day of March, being Monday, after dinner, the martyr was brought from the Castle to the Common Hall in York, before the two judges, Mr. Clinch and Mr.

Rhodes, and divers of the Council sitting with them on the bench.

Her indictment was read, that she had harboured and maintained Jesuit and Seminary priests, traitors to the Queen's Majesty and her laws, and that she had [heard] Mass, and such like. Then Judge Clinch stood up, and said: "Margaret Clitherow, how say you? [Are you] guilty of this indictment, or no?" Then she [being] about to answer, they commanded her to put off her hat, and then she said mildly with a bold and smiling countenance: "I know no offence whereof I should confess myself guilty." The judge said: "Yes, you have harboured and maintained Jesuits and priests, enemies to her Majesty." The martyr answered: "I never knew nor have harboured any such persons, or maintained those which are not the Queen's friends. God defend I should." The judge said: "How will you be tried?" The martyr answered, "Having made no offence, I need no trial." They said: "You have offended the statutes, and therefore you must be tried;" and often asked her how she would be tried. The martyr answered: "If you say I have offended, and that I must be tried, I will be tried by none but by God and your own consciences." The judge said, "No, you cannot so do, for we sit here," quoth he, "to see justice and law, and therefore you must be tried [by the country]." The martyr still appealed to God, and their consciences. Then they brought forth two chalices, divers pictures, and in mockery put two vestments and other church gear upon two lewd fellows' backs, and in derision the one began to pull and dally with the other, scoffing on the bench before the judges, and holding up singing breads, said to the martyr: "Behold thy gods in whom thou believest." They asked her how she liked those vestments. The martyr said: "I like them well, if they were on their backs that know to use them to God's honour, as they were made." Then Judge Clinch stood up and asked her:

"In whom believe you?" "I believe," quoth the martyr, "in God." "In what God?" quoth the judge. "I believe," quoth the martyr, "in God the Father, in God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; in these Three Persons and One God I fully believe, and that by the passion, death, and merits of Christ Jesu I must be saved." The judge said: "You say well;" and said no more. After a while the judges said to her again: "Margaret Clitherow, how say you yet? Are you content to be tried by God and the country?" The martyr said, "No." The judge said: "Good woman, consider well what you do; if you refuse to be tried by the country, you make yourself guilty and accessory to your own death, for we cannot try you," said he, "but by order of law. You need not fear this kind of trial, for I think the country cannot find you guilty upon this slender evidence of a child." The martyr still refused. They asked if her husband were not privy to her doings in keeping priests. The martyr said: "God knoweth I could never yet get my husband in that good case that he were worthy to know or come in place where they were to serve God." The judge said: "We must proceed by law against you, which will condemn you to a sharp death for want of trial." The martyr said cheerfully: "God's will be done: I think I may suffer any death for this good cause." Some of them said, seeing her joy, that she was mad, and possessed with a smiling spirit. Mr. Rhodes also railed against her on the Catholic faith and priests; so did also the other Councillors, and Mr. Hurleston openly before them all said: "It is not for religion that thou harbourest priests, but for harlotry;" and furiously uttered such like slanders, sitting on the bench.

The Bench rose that night without pronouncing any sentence against her, and she was brought from the hall with a great troop of men and halberts, with a smiling and most cheerful countenance, dealing money on both sides

the streets, to John Trewe's house on the bridge, where she was shut up in a close parlour.

The same night came to the martyr, as she was praying upon her knees, Parson Wiggington, a Puritan preacher of notorious qualities, and ministered talk unto her, as their fashion is. The martyr regarded him very little, and desired him not to trouble her, "for your fruits," quoth she, "are correspondent to your doctrine." And so he departed. All that night she remained in that parlour, with one Yoward and his wife, two evil-disposed persons of their own sect.

The next day following, about eight of the clock, the martyr was carried again to the Common Hall; and she standing at the Bar, the judge said to her: "Margaret Clitherow, how say you yet? Yesternight we passed you over without judgment, which we might have then pronounced against you if we would: we did it not, hoping you would be something more conformable, and put yourself to the country, for otherwise you must needs have the law. We see nothing why you should refuse; here be but small witness against you, and the country will consider your case." "Indeed," said the martyr, "I think you have no witnesses against me but children, which with an apple and a rod you may make to say what you will." They said, "It is plain that you had priests in your house by these things which were found." The martyr said, "As for good Catholic priests, I know no cause why I should refuse them as long as I live; they come only to do me good and others." Rhodes, Hurleston, and others said, "They are all traitors, rascals, and deceivers of the Queen's subjects." The martyr said, "God forgive you. You would not say so of them if you knew them." They said, "You would detest them yourself [if] you knew their treason and wickedness as we do." The martyr said, "I know them for virtuous men, sent by God only to save our souls." These speeches and the like she uttered very

boldly and with great modesty. Then Judge Clinch said, "What say you? Will you put yourself to the country, yea or no?" The martyr said, "I see no cause why I should do so in this matter: I refer my cause only to God and your own consciences. Do what you think good." All the people about her condemned her of great obstinacy and folly, that she would not yield; and on every hand persuaded her to refer her trial to the country, which could not find her guilty, as they said, upon such slender evidence; but she would not. "Well," said Judge Clinch, "we must pronounce a sentence against you. Mercy lieth in our hands, in the country's also, if you put your trial to them; otherwise you must have the law." The Puritan preacher, called Wiggington, stood up and called to the judge on the bench, saying, "My lord, give me leave to speak;" but the murmuring and noise in the Hall would not suffer him to be heard: yet he continued still calling that he might speak, and the judge commanded silence to hear him. Then he said, "My lord, take heed what you do. You sit here to do justice; this woman's case is touching life and death,—you ought not, either by God's laws or man's, to judge her to die upon the slender witness of a boy; nor unless you have two or three sufficient men of very good credit to give evidence against her. Therefore, look to it, my lord, this gear goeth sore." The judge answered, "I may do it by law." "By what law?" quoth Wiggington. "By the Queen's law," said the judge. "That may well be," quoth Wiggington, "but you cannot do it by God's law;" and he said no more. The judge, yet desirous to shift the thorn out of his own conscience into the whole country, and falsely thinking that if the jury found her guilty his hand should be clear from her blood, said again, "Good woman, I pray you put yourself to the country. There is no evidence but a boy against you, and whatsoever they do, yet we may show mercy afterward." The martyr still refused. Then Rhodes said,

"Why stand we all the day about this naughty, wilful woman. Let us despatch her." Then the judge said, "If you will not put yourself to the country, this must be your judgment:

"You must return from whence you came, and there, in the lowest part of the prison, be stripped naked, laid down, your back upon the ground, and as much weight laid upon you as you are able to bear, and so to continue three days without meat or drink, except a little barley bread and puddle water, and the third day to be pressed to death, your hands and feet tied to posts, and a sharp stone under your back."

The martyr, standing without any fear or change of countenance, mildly said, "If this judgment be according to your own conscience, I pray God send you better judgment before Him. I thank God heartily for this." "Nay," said the judge, "I do it according to law, and tell you this must be your judgment, unless you put yourself to be tried by the country. Consider of it, you have husband and children to care for; cast not yourself away." The martyr answered, "I would to God my husband and children might suffer with me for so good a cause." Upon which words the heretics reported after, that she would have hanged her husband and children if she could.

After this sentence pronounced, the judge asked her once again, "How say you, Margaret Clitherow? Are you content to put yourself to the trial of the country? Although we have given sentence against you according to the law, yet will we show mercy, if you will do anything yourself." The martyr, lifting up her eyes towards heaven, said with a cheerful countenance, "God be thanked, all that He shall send me shall be welcome; I am not worthy of so good a death as this is: I have deserved death for mine offences to God, but not for anything that I am accused of."

Then the judge bade the sheriff look to her, who

pinioned her arms with a cord. The martyr first beholding the one arm and then the other, smiled to herself and was joyful to be bound for Christ's sake; at which they all raged against her. So the sheriff brought her with halberts to the bridge again, where she was before. Some of the Bench were sent to mark her countenance as she was carried forth of the Hall, but she departed from thence through the streets with joyful countenance, whereat some said, "It must needs be that she received comfort from the Holy Ghost," for all were astonished to see her of so good cheer. Some said it was not so, but that she was possessed with a merry devil, and that she sought her own death.

The two sheriffs brought her betwixt them, she dealing money on both sides as she could, being pinioned.

After this none was permitted to speak with her but ministers, and such as were appointed by the Council. When her husband heard that they had condemned her, he fared like a man out of his wits, and wept so vehemently that the blood gushed out of his nose in great quantity, and said, "Alas! will they kill my wife? Let them take all I have and save her, for she is the best wife in all England, and the best Catholic also."

Two days after, as I remember, came to her Mr. Meares, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and others of the Council, and secretly asked her many things, the certainty whereof I cannot as yet learn in particular. I cannot learn more than that they asked her if she would go to the church with them, if it were but to one sermon, and she should have favour. She answered that she would, if it pleased them to let her choose the preacher, and grant him safe conduct to come and go. They asked her also if she thought in her conscience that she were with child. She said she knew not certainly, and would not for all the world take it on her conscience that she was or she was not, but as she thought rather she was than otherwise. They asked her why she would not so much as desire to be reprieved

for some time. She said, "I require no favour in this matter; you may do your pleasures." They asked her an she knew not Ingleby and Mush, the two traitor priests. She answered, "I know none such." They replied, "Will you say so? Beware of lying." She said, "I have not to accuse any man; you have me now, do your wills." Thus much have I heard, and no more, that the Council should say unto her. After this they went to the judge, and told him what she had said.

Her kinsfolks and friends laboured much all that week to cause her to say directly that she was with child, but she would never affirm it of any certainty, but said she would not dissemble with God and the world, for that she could not tell certainly whether she was or no. Upon Wednesday the sheriff of York came to the judge, Clinch, and demanded what he should do with her. The judge answered, "She may not be executed, for they say she is with child." Rhodes, Meares, Hurleston, Cheeke, and the rest urged sore that she might be executed according to judgment and law. And Mr. Rhodes said, "Brother Clinch, you are too merciful in these cases; if she had not law she would undo a great many." Then Judge Clinch said, "If she be with child, I will not consent that she shall die." "Then," quoth the sheriff, "my lord, I shall make a quest of women to go upon her." "It needeth not," quoth the judge; "call four honest women, which know her well, and let them try it." The four women upon the Thursday came to the martyr, and returned answer to the judge, that she was with child as far as they could perceive or gather by her own words. That night, or the next day, Hurleston, the Councillors, and ministers, who most greedily thirsted after her blood, came to Clinch in his chamber and said, "My lord, this woman is not to have the benefit of her condition, for that she hath refused trial by the country, and the sentence of death is passed against her." The judge answered, "Mr. Hurleston, God defend

she should die, if she be with child; although she hath offended, yet hath not the infant in her womb. I will not for a thousand pounds, therefore, give my consent until she be further tried." Hurleston urged still and said, "She is the only woman in the north parts, and if she be suffered to live, there will be more of her order without any fear of law. And therefore, my lord, consider with yourself," quoth he, "and let her have law according to judgment passed, for I will take it upon my conscience that she is not with child." The judge would by no means consent; but, thinking to wash his hands with Pilate, referred all to the Council, and willed them to do their own discretions; and at his departure he commanded to stay the execution till Friday after, which was the twenty-fifth of March and the feast of our Lady, and then to do as they should think good, if in the meantime they heard not from him to the contrary.

The martyr, after her judgment, with much prayer and fasting prepared herself to die, fearing still that she was not worthy to suffer such a death for God His sake. In this time she sent word to her ghostly Father, desiring him to pray earnestly for her, for it was the heaviest cross that ever came to her, that she feared she should escape death.

The second day after her condemnation came Bunney, a notorious minister, Pease and Cotterill, arrogant heretics, with others, and said, "Mrs. Clitherow, we are sent by the Council to confer with you touching three points, and to see if you will be any whit tractable or no. First, we must know why you refuse to be tried by the country, according to the order of law, wherein you show yourself wilful in seeking your own death contrary to God's law, and damnable to your own soul, as making yourself guilty of your own death without trial, forcing the law to proceed by order, which could not be abridged in such a case; where otherwise, upon trial, you might have been saved

upon so simple evidence, yet notwithstanding," said they, "it was well known and proved that you maintained and harboured traitors, contrary to the Queen's Majesty's laws." To this the martyr answered, "I am a woman, and not skilful in the temporal laws. If I have offended, I ask God mercy, and I know not whether I have offended against them or no; but in my conscience I have not. As for traitors, I never kept nor harboured any in my house." Secondly, they asked, "Do you know yourself to be with child or no? Although," quoth the minister, "you cannot have the benefit of your condition." The martyr said, "I can neither say that I am nor that I am not, having been deceived heretofore in this, and therefore I cannot directly answer you, but of the two I rather think that I am than otherwise." Thirdly, they asked, "Why refuse you to come to our church, we having so plain and sure testimonies to show on our side for the truth?" And to this end they brought forth many texts of Scriptures. The martyr answered, "I am not aminded to your Church, God defend I should, for I have been within the Catholic faith twelve years, I thank God; and if I should now fear or faint, all that I have done heretofore were in vain, and I wish rather to die." Pease said, "Then what is the Church? You know it not: you have been led away by blind guides, making you believe in stocks and stones, and tradition of men contrary to the word of the Lord. Answer me," quoth he, "what is the Church?" The martyr said, "It is that wherein the true Word of God is preached, which Christ left to His Apostles, and to their successors ministering the Seven Sacraments, which the same Church hath always observed, the Doctors preached, and Martyrs and Confessors witnessed. This is the Church I believe to be true." And when she alleged anything for the Church of Rome (which in all her talk with them she stood unto), they said, "Now ye go from us." Then Bunney began to make, as it were, an oration, and allege

places of Scripture, God knoweth to what end. The martyr said, "I beseech you trouble me not; I am no divine, neither can answer you to these hard questions. I am according to the Queen's Majesty's laws to die, and my spirit is very willing, although my flesh may repine. I say, as I have said heretofore, my desire is to die a member of the Catholic Church. My cause is God's, and it is a great comfort for me to die in His quarrel: flesh is frail, but I trust in my Lord Jesu, that He will give me strength to bear all troubles and torments which shall be laid upon me for His sake." After that Pease had railed and blasphemed a while, they departed for that day. The third day came Wiggington, the Puritan, and, as they say, he began in this manner: "Mrs. Clitherow, I pity your case. I am sent to see if you will be any whit conformable. Cast not yourself away; lose not both body and soul. Possibly you think you shall have martyrdom, but you are foully deceived, for it cometh but one way. Not death, but the cause maketh a martyr. In the time of Queen Mary were many put to death, and now also in this Queen's time, for two several opinions; both these cannot be martyrs. Therefore, good Mistress Clitherow, take pity on yourself. Christ Himself fled His persecutors, so did His Apostles; and why should not you then favour your own life?" The martyr answered, "God defend I should favour my life in this point. As for my martyrdom, I am not yet assured of it, for that I am yet living; but if I persevere to the end, I verily believe I shall be saved." "Are not you assured?" quoth he. "No, I wis," quoth the martyr, "so long as I am living, because I know not what I may do." "How think you," quoth Wiggington, "Mrs. Clitherow, to be saved?" The martyr answered and said, "Through Christ Jesus His bitter passion and death." "You say well," quoth he, "but you believe far otherwise, as in images, ceremonies, sacramentals, sacraments, and such like, and

not only in Christ." "I believe," said the martyr, "as the Catholic Church teacheth me, that there be Seven Sacraments, and in this faith will I both live and die. As for all the ceremonies, I believe they be ordained to God's honour and glory, and the setting forth of His glory and service; as for images, they be but to represent unto us that there were both good and godly men upon earth, which now are glorious in heaven, and also to stir up our dull minds to more devotion when we behold them; otherwise than thus I believe not." Wiggington said, "There be not Seven Sacraments, but two only, that is, Baptism and the Supper of our Lord; as for all the other, they be but ceremonies, good, holy things, but yet not sacraments." "They be all sacraments," said the martyr, "ordained by Christ and His Apostles, and all the whole Church hath confirmed them ever since." "Well, Mrs. Clitherow," said Wiggington, "I am sorry that I cannot persuade you," and so departed for that day. Every day after there came to her either minister or some of her kinsfolks, both men and women, to desire her to consider of her husband and children; but the martyr answered them with great courage and constancy. Amongst whom also came the Lord Mayor, and by all means persuaded her to yield in something, and he would not doubt yet to get her pardon. He had been raised to this preferment of worldly wealth by the marrying of the martyr's mother, a rich widow, which died before this tragedy the summer last. He kneeling down on his knees, as they say, with great show of sorrow and affection, by all flattery allured her to do something against her conscience, but she valiantly resisted. And when he perceived that nothing would serve, he desired her to give him her eldest daughter. She thanked him, and refused his courtesy, because that she was loth her child should be infected with his heresy.

Upon Saturday next came Bunney again, and began to persuade her in fair and courteous manner, at the beginning

saying thus: "Good Lord, Mrs. Clitherow, consider your own case, you are judged to die, and surely, surely die you must, unless you will do something. Do therefore something, and you shall have mercy;" and made as it were an oration, and alleged texts of Scriptures. The martyr desired him to be contented: "For I am," said she, "fully resolved in all things touching my faith, which I ground upon Jesu Christ, and by Him I stedfastly believe to be saved, which faith I acknowledge to be the same that He left to His Apostles, and they to their successors from time to time, and is taught in the Catholic Church through all Christendom, and promised to remain with her unto the world's end, and hell-gates shall not prevail against it: and by God's assistance I mean to live and die in the same faith; for if an angel come from heaven, and preach any other doctrine than we have received, the Apostle biddeth us not believe him. Therefore, if I should follow your doctrine, I should disobey the Apostle's commandment. Wherefore, I pray you take this for an answer, and trouble me no more for my conscience." Bunney said: "Alas! Mrs. Clitherow, I am sorry you are so wilful: I would to God you would see the danger for your soul. The Lord illuminate the eyes of your heart, that you may see how blindly you have been seduced by these Romish Jesuits and priests," with like speeches. After, seeing he could not any way prevail against her, he began to grow something angry, and charged her that she shifted from point to point, and that she was not the same woman she was before, nor so conformable as she had been. "Belike," said he, "some have given you counsel to the contrary." The martyr answered: "I marvel why you charge me thus: have you found me since the first time I came to prison in any other mind than I am now? Have I not always answered you, that whatsoever the Catholic Church teacheth and believeth, the same I firmly believe? Neither do I shrink any jot from any article thereof, and I trust

in my Lord God never to do." About Monday came Wiggington again, and said: "Mrs. Clitherow, I am once come again to you. I am sent by the Council to see if you be any more conformable than you were before. Will you," said he, "come and hear a godly sermon? Otherwise, I know not how you will escape the danger of the law." The martyr said, "I will with all my heart hear a sermon." "That is very well said, good Mrs. Clitherow," quoth he. "I pray you understand me," quoth the martyr; "I mind to do it, if I may have a Catholic priest or preacher, but to come to your sermons I will never." He said, "If you will come to a sermon, I shall procure you a good and godly man both of life and doctrine, though I seek him to the furthermost part of England." Mrs. Yoward, standing by, said, "Here is the Dean of Durham, Toby Matthew, a godly and learned man; I am sure he will take as much pains as any to do you good." The martyr mildly answered, "I will never have the Dean of Durham, nor any other of that sect. My faith is stayed already, and I purpose not to seek for new doctrine." "I myself," quoth Wiggington, "have seen Christ once in a vision, and am assured of my salvation." The martyr at that word began to smile, and made but small answer. Then Wiggington brought forth some places of the Doctors to prove that his doctrine was true. The martyr said: "If you would believe the Doctors and follow them, then were both you and I of one faith, but you slide from them. I have no learning to read them, but I believe that which they preached and taught to be the truth." "Well, Mrs. Clitherow," said he, "I perceive you will cast yourself willingly away, without regard of husband or children; you follow blind guides. Is there any of them that hath any learning, I would fain know?" The martyr said, "Peruse their works, and you shall see." After that he had pitied her case a while, he departed and came no more.

Another preacher also, called Harwood, came and

began to persuade her to yield herself to be tried by the country, and to make her submission to the Council, and to confess she had offended God and the Queen's Majesty, and so she might *possibly* find mercy. The martyr answered: "I pray God I may make my submission unto Him, and do my humble duty to my prince in all matters temporal; but in this which I am charged withal, I trust I have neither offended God nor my prince." The minister began after his manner to rail and blaspheme against Jesuits and priests, calling them traitors to her Majesty, and that she was an harbourer and maintainer of them. The martyr answered, "I never harboured nor maintained any traitors to her Majesty, but such as wished no worse to her than to their own souls." Others also came to her at divers times, and said she died desperately, and had no care on her husband and children, but would spoil them, and make all people to exclaim against her; and how mercifully the Queen's laws were, and how the Council were willing to deal with her, and show favour upon her submission; as it might appear by deferring the time of her death, and by sending them to confer with her about the same. The martyr said: "You charge me wrongfully. I die not desperately nor willingly procure mine own death: for not being found guilty of such crimes as were laid against me, and yet condemned to die, I could but rejoice; my cause also being God's quarrel. Neither did I fear the terror [of the] sentence of death, but was ashamed on their behalfs to have such shameful words uttered in the audience as to strip me naked, and press me to death among men, which methought for womanhood they might have concealed. As for my husband, know you that I love him next unto God in this world, and I have care over my children as a mother ought to have; I trust I have done my duty to them to bring them up in the fear of God, and so I trust now I am discharged of them. And for this cause I am willing to offer them freely

to God that sent them me, rather than I will yield one jot from my faith. I confess death is fearful, and flesh is frail; yet I mind by God's assistance to spend my blood in this faith, as willingly as ever I put my paps to my children's mouths, neither desire I to have my death deferred." They said: "You can allege no cause that you die for religion, but for disobedience and maintaining traitors in your house against the laws of the realm." The martyr said, "I deny it, I kept no traitors; make of it what you will, I pass not. I take witness I die for the Catholic faith, the same that I was christened in." They said, "You are not of Mr. Hart's opinion, for he said it was lawful for women that had no learning to defend their cause, to go to the Church." The martyr said, "Father Hart was not of your opinion, neither would he say any such thing, and, if he had said, I would not have believed him. But he answered all your objections by learning, as it was manifest." "Know," they said also, "that Mr. Comberford renounced the Pope, and confessed he had been blindly led many years." The martyr answered: "This is not the first lie that hath been made of dead men, which are not here to answer, but such talk as this will get you small credit." When they saw that they could not persuade her, nor make her yield in anything, they brought in ridiculous slanders against her, and told her how the boy had confessed that she had sinned with priests, and that the priests and she would have delicate cheer, when she would set her husband with bread and butter and a red herring. When she heard these words, she smiled and said: "God forgive you for these forged tales; and if the boy said so, I warrant you he will say as much more for a pound of figs." But principally they urged her to confess she had offended her husband. The martyr said, "If I have offended my husband in anything but for my conscience, I ask God and him forgiveness." Still they urged her to confess some fault against him, thereby to slander herself. The martyr said, "I trust my husband

will not accuse me that I have offended him at any time, unless in such small matters as are commonly incident to man and wife; and I beseech you," said she, "let me speak with him before I die." They said she should not, unless she would yield unto something. The martyr said, "God's will be done, for I will not offend God and my conscience to speak with him." When they could no way prevail against her, they contradicted her in all speeches and doings: but they could never move her to impatience, change of talk or countenance.

Two days before her martyrdom, the sheriffs of York came to her and told her what day was appointed for her death. The martyr thanked God, and requested them that she might go to the place where she should suffer half a day or half a night before, and to remain there all that time until she should die; but they would not grant it.

After the sheriffs were departed, the martyr said to a friend of hers, "The sheriffs have told me that I shall die on Friday next; and now I feel the frailty of mine own flesh, which trembleth at these news, although my spirit greatly rejoiceth. Therefore for God's sake pray for me, and desire all good folks to do the same." And she kneeling down praying a little, the fear and horror of death presently departed, as she said herself.

Truly in all her speeches, countenance, and behaviour, she never showed herself sad, or sorrowful, or fearful, unless this one time; never expecting or hoping for pardon notwithstanding the time was so deferred, and many speeches given forth that she should not die. But her mind was always on her end, craving all good prayers for perseverance and for ghostly strength to overcome all combats, and joyfully to depart from this world to the glory of God and advancement of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER XX.

OF HER MARTYRDOM.

SIX days before her death her husband was set at liberty, and commanded by the Council to depart the city for five days, whereby the martyr and all others first gathered that they intended indeed to suck her blood. From her first coming to the bridge she put off her smock, and never wore any after during her life. Her diet was a water pottage, rye bread, and small ale, which she took but once a day, and that in little quantity. And from the day that the sheriffs gave her certain intelligence of her death (which was Tuesday at night), she took no food at all.

Being in a parlour with Yoward and his wife the night before she suffered, she said to Yoward's wife, "I would gladly have one of the maids to bear me company this night, not for any fear of death, for it is my comfort, but the flesh is frail." The woman said, "Alas! Mrs. Clitherow, the gaoler is gone, the door is locked, and none can be had. Then the said Yoward's wife, being ready to go to bed, clasped again her clothes, and sitting beside the martyr almost till midnight, after went to bed. At twelve of the clock she saw the martyr rise from her knees, and put off all her apparel, putting on a linen habit like to an alb, which she had made with her own hands three days before to suffer martyrdom in. Then she kneeled down again, without anything upon her saving that linen cloth, from twelve of the clock until three, at which time she arose and came to the fireside. There she laid her down flat upon the stones one quarter of an hour. After that she arose and went to her bed, covering herself with clothes, and so continued until six in

the morning. Then she arose and put on her apparel, and made her ready against the sheriffs' coming.

She desired Yoward's wife to see her die, and wished her that some good Catholics were by, in her last agony and pangs of death, to put her in remembrance of God. Yoward's wife said she would not see her die so cruel a death for all York; "but," quoth she, "I will procure some friends to lay weight on you that you may be quickly despatched from your pain." The martyr said, "No, good Mrs. Yoward, not so. God defend that I should procure any to be guilty of my death and blood."

About eight of the clock the sheriffs came to her, and she being ready expecting them, having trimmed up her head with new inkle,[1] and carrying on her arm the new habit of linen with inkle strings, which she had prepared to bind her hands, went cheerfully to her marriage, as she called it; dealing her alms in the street, which was so full of people that she could scarce pass by them. She went barefoot and barelegged, her gown loose about her. Fawcet, the sheriff, made haste and said, "Come away, Mrs. Clitherow." The martyr answered merrily, "Good Master Sheriff, let me deal my poor alms before I now go, for my time is but short." They marvelled all to see her joyful countenance.

The place of execution was the tollbooth, six or seven yards distant from the prison. There were present at her martyrdom the two sheriffs of York, Fawcet and Gibson, Frost, a minister, Fox, Mr. Cheeke's kinsman, with another of his men, the four sergeants, which had hired certain beggars to do the murther, three or four men, and four women.

The martyr coming to the place, kneeled her down, and prayed to herself. The tormentors bade her pray with them, and they would pray with her. The martyr denied, and said, "I will not pray with you, and you shall not pray with me; neither will I say Amen to your

[1] *Inkle*, inferior tape. *Halliwell.*

prayers, nor shall you to mine." Then they willed her to pray for the Queen's majesty. The martyr began in this order. First, in the hearing of them all, she prayed for the Catholic Church, then for the Pope's Holiness, Cardinals, and other Fathers which have charge of souls, and then for all Christian princes. At which words the tormentors interrupted her, and willed her not to put her majesty among that company; yet the martyr proceeded in this order, "and especially for Elizabeth, Queen of England, that God turn her to the Catholic faith, and that after this mortal life she may receive the blessed joys of heaven. For I wish as much good," quoth she, "to her majesty's soul as to mine own." Sheriff Gibson, abhorring the cruel fact, stood weeping at the door. Then said Fawcet, "Mrs. Clitherow, you must remember and confess that you die for treason." The martyr answered, "No, no, Mr. Sheriff, I die for the love of my Lord Jesu;' which last words she spake with a loud voice.

Then Fawcet commanded her to put off her apparel; "For you must die," said he, "naked, as judgment was given and pronounced against you."

The martyr with the other women requested him on their knees that she might die in her smock, and that for the honour of womanhood they would not see her naked; but that would not be granted. Then she requested that women might unapparel her, and that they would turn their faces from her for that time.

The women took off her clothes, and put upon her the long habit of linen. Then very quietly she laid her down upon the ground, her face covered with a handkerchief, the linen habit being placed over her as far as it would reach, all the rest of her body being naked. The door was laid upon her, her hands she joined towards her face. Then the sheriff said, "Nay, you must have your hands bound." The martyr put forth her hands over the door still joined. Then two sergeants parted them,

and with the inkle strings, which she had prepared for that purpose bound them to two posts, so that her body and her arms made a perfect cross. They willed her again to ask the Queen's Majesty's forgiveness, and to pray for her. The martyr said she had prayed for her. They also willed her to ask her husband's forgiveness. The martyr said, "If ever I have offended him, but for my conscience, I ask him forgiveness."

After this they laid weight upon her, which when she first felt, she said, "Jesu! Jesu! Jesu! have mercy upon me!" which were the last words she was heard to speak.

She was in dying one quarter of an hour. A sharp stone, as much as a man's fist, put under her back; upon her was laid to the quantity of seven or eight hundredweight at the least, which, breaking her ribs, caused them to burst forth of the skin.

Thus most victoriously this gracious martyr overcame all her enemies, passing [from] this mortal life with marvellous triumph into the peaceable city of God, there to receive a worthy crown of endless immortality and joy.

This was at nine of the clock, and she continued in the press until three at afternoon. Her hat before she died she sent to her husband, in sign of her loving duty to him as to her head. Her hose and shoes to her eldest daughter, Anne, about twelve years old, signifying that she should serve God and follow her steps of virtue.

The little girl was at the first committed to ward because she would not betray her mother, and there extremely used for that she would not go to the church; but when her mother was martyred, the heretics came up to her and said, that unless she would go to the church and hear a sermon, her mother should be put to death. The child, thereby thinking to save her mother's life, went to a sermon, and thus they deceived her.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CONCLUSION, WHEREIN IS PARTLY SHOWED THE UNJUST DEALINGS OF THE HERETICS WITH THIS MARTYR.

NOW the next day the heretics railed against her out of their pulpits with most shameful lies and slanders. The Lord Mayor, called Mr. May, to show his gentle mind to the martyr's mother, which had taken him from the beggar's staff, made this his honourable table talk among his heretical brethren, that she died desperately, and that she had been an unhonest woman, with many such like and false heretical slanders. As for my Lord Mayor, I will have more regard to his honour than he hath to his honesty. Let him remember whether he himself had not good proofs of this martyr's constant honesty at all times when she was in his mother's house.

But what shall I need to speak against the vicious murtherers in defence of this chaste martyr, whose honesty and other virtues are well known to her neighbours, as well heretics as others, who can witness that as she was not once suspected of any dishonest behaviour in all her life, so it will be impossible after so glorious a death for heretics to persuade any but such as wallow in the same abominable puddle of uncleanness with them that their slanders be true. For who seeth not this, that these are the ordinary fruits of their heretical humour, then chiefly to heap up most untrue and detestable slanders, without all proof or likelihood, when they would contrive or have committed some shameful fact, thinking thereby to cover their horrible practices and barbarous cruelty. . . .[1] Your own fellows in heresy, but yet of more modest nature and not so far from all honesty and truth as you are,

[1] Six pages of declamation to the same effect are here omitted.

after this martyr's death, they seeing her behaviour witness freely what constant virtue was in her, and say she was a rare woman in mortification to the world and the delights thereof, and that nothing wanted to make her a true martyr but only a true faith. Your slanders therefore will redound to your own reproach and discredit, and to this martyr's great glory. For the priest's chamber, what dainty cheer found you there? You report whatsoever a shameless spirit biddeth you, with all untruth and railing. Was not common bread, with two or three apple tarts, made in Lent time without any oil or butter, all the cheer you found? Is this delicate cheer with priests and worthy of an infamous outcry for delicacy in them; and in Lent time any flesh or other dainties is not dainty or to be spoken of, [though it be] against your heretical laws? And perhaps it is so indeed, for that you live always in pleasures and delicate lusts, as your sensuality desireth. Hear this, which is truth, as willingly as you cast abroad untruths. This I say to the glory of God and His Catholic Church, whose children your malicious tongues would defile with your own ignominy, this most happy martyr and those priests were delicate and dainty in this manner. During that whole time of Lent, they ate but one meal a day, as the custom of Christendom hath ever been and is still. In that also they forbare all flesh, they tasted not any white meats, as eggs, butter, milk, and cheese, if fish might be gotten, as it is not plentiful this season, God punishing your intemperate and fleshly minds, which rebel against His Church's ordinance in this choice of meats. For such holy times they received it with thanksgiving, and in such scarcity as continually remembering to afflict their bodies by denying their appetite its lawful and necessary fill (as by human imperfection sometimes before they might have exceeded in superfluities), knowing to be acceptable to God and some little part of satisfaction

by the virtue of Christ's merits for excesses past to turn to God again in prayer, weeping and fasting, mourning, as by His prophets He willeth us; whereas on this contrary part, all this holy time you devour flesh twice or thrice a day. . . . Then in your ridiculous gluttony, your beef must be named Spanish ling, your pigs pikes, your conies cods, your partridges perches. Judge now, therefore, who be delicate, who be fleshly crows, Catholics or heretics, fasters or lawlers. But what if we suppose your lies were truth, what gain you thereby? Suppose, I say, the martyr and the priests had fared as delicately as yourselves, will you in this condemn them? . . .

Behold how God hath wrought by His servant all things to her immortal honour, and your endless confusion and shame. She, a woman, with invincible courage, entered combat against you all, to defend that most ancient faith, wherein she and you were baptized, and gave your promise to God to keep the same to death; where you, men, cowardish in the quarrel, and faithless in your promise, laboured all at once against her, to make her partaker of your turpitude and dishonesty. She in everything simple and innocent, you in everything deceitful and mischievous; she patient and joyful, you furious and fretting; she victorious, you conquered; she exalted, and you confounded. Where is now the force of your tyranny and impious law? Hath not the fortitude of one woman showed the injustice of it? Hath she not weakened both them and your statute? You know well that these new statutes, which violently you endeavour to establish by shedding of much innocent blood, and which are quite contrary to the ancient justice and laws of the realm, which in this point is not justly abrogable by any modern temporal authority or new decree. Is it so indeed? Then have you proceeded against justice to call her in question of life and death, only for harbouring of priests (which thing was ever till now, in England and all

Christendom, thought to be a work of singular justice), and consequently she might justly refuse trial by your order of law, you proceeding with her against all ancient law and justice. But well you know for what reason the martyr, of her own discretion, after her apprehension (not having any counsel in this or any other point), refused to be tried by the country, as they willed her. Not thereby she meaning to favour or save her life, but only pitying to cast her blood into the hands of many; whereas, by her refusal, it should in that case principally rest in the judge's bosom, although also many more were guilty of it.

These were her own words to a very friend of hers after she was condemned: "Alas!" quoth she, "if I should have put myself to the country, evidence must needs have come against me, which I know none could give but only my children and servants. And it would have been more grievous to me than a thousand deaths, if I should have seen any of them brought forth before me to give evidence against me. Secondly," said she, "I knew well the country must needs have found me guilty to please the Council, which earnestly seek my blood; and then all they had been accessory to my death, and damnably offended God. I thought it therefore in the way of charity on [my] part to hinder the country from such a sin; and since it must needs be done, to cause as few to do it as might be; and that was the judge himself." These were her own reasons, which sufficiently defend and clear her from all her slanderers of obstinacy, desperation, or other crime at all; nay, they convince a rare and marvellous charity in her at that time. And though in all her other speeches and doings she showed great wisdom, yet surely in none it appeared more than in this refusal to be tried by the country.

But what may we think of Mr. Clinch, the judge that pronounced sentence against her? Ask Wiggington, the puritan gospeller, out of whose mouth yourselves say the

Word of the Lord proceeded. He cried openly in the Common Hall that it was against the laws both of God and man to condemn her to die upon any evidence brought against her at her arraignment, and that the testimony of a boy about ten or twelve years old could not justly be sufficient to condemn her to death, but that further three or four honest and grave men must in case of death bear evidence against her. Did not perhaps God open the mouth of Balaam's ass to detect the injustice contrived against His servant, standing in the thickest of her bloody enemies and desolate of all human comfort? . . . This was the general rumour of the hall. If you say they all were ignorant of the law in this usual case of justice, what say you to Mr. Clinch himself? Is he not sufficient to witness the justice of his own fact? How often uttered he these and such like words in open audience? "Good woman, refer yourself to the trial of the country. I see no cause why you should fear or refuse, there being no evidence or witness against you but a boy." . . . .[1]

Were it law at all? No, surely, unless you heretics say that the law might be without reason and justice and yet be a law. Still if you say thus, we grant it were your law, but in the same predicament with all your other laws that be against God's Catholic Church, that is not only no law, but your unjust and tyrannous law, and so in truth no law nor to be obeyed.

But what do I speak of the law which might be, whereas your dealings with this saint are convinced to be unjust by your own law which is in force already. By your law therefore I say you have none such refuge that any innocent or guilty prisoner, against whom sufficient proof and evidence faileth, can for his refusing trial only be pressed to death. What say we then to the Judges, the Council, and grave Bench, which tell us they judge according to law and justice? Let us go to the statute itself, wherein this pain of pressing, called *peine forte et dure*, was

[1] Five pages are here omitted.

instituted for mute malefactors. In the statute 1 *Westm. cap* 12° *anno.* 3° *Edwardi I.* this pain of pressing and the order to be kept in it is prescribed as followeth.[1] Thus in plain words by this statute it appeareth that none shall be judged to this *peine forte et dure*, unless there be evidence of proveable matter to convince them of the crime or otherwise they be notorious felons and of evil fame. . . .

Perhaps the Judge's manifest iniquity may be lessened by the Council's secret malice and circumvention, which as it is reported is this. Meares, Cheeke, Hurleston and the rest had condemned and executed Mr. Bowes at Christmas last, as I said in the beginning, which they did according to their accustomable dealing with Catholics by the only evidence of one silly schoolmaster, whom they had forced to forsake God and His faith a little before in so perfect a degree of infamy that he was well known to bear a conscience saleable for sixpence. The fame of this gross injustice was spread far and near, and all men abhorred to hear the barbarous cruelty of such malicious bloodsuckers, whose tyranny was not remediable, as the world goeth in these days, when chiefest credit is gotten by contriving injuries against Catholics. Judge Rhodes, as report flieth, at his coming to York this Lent Assizes, whether it was to show his authority above this Council, in his controlling humour, sorry that himself should not be a principal party in so foul murther, or that he loathed to

[1] Mr. Mush intended to quote the statute, but did not do so. Blackstone says that "the statute directs such persons as will not put themselves upon inquests of felonies before the judges at the suit of the King, to be put into hard and strong prison (*soient mys en la prisone forte et dure*), as those which refuse to be at the Common Law of the land. It appears by a record of 31 Edw. III. that the prisoner might then possibly subsist for forty days under this lingering punishment. The practice of loading him with weights was gradually introduced between 31 Edw. III. and 8 Hen. IV., at which last period it appears in our books."

It would be difficult to defend our author's view of the illegality of the proceeding. Before Margaret Clitherow could have been arraigned and been called upon to plead, the grand jury must have found a true bill on the indictment; and it did not rest with the judge but with the grand jury to say whether there was sufficient evidence of the indictment, not for the conviction but for the trial of the person accused.

hear the general outcry that a man's life should be taken from him so unjustly and against the course of common law, God knoweth, and others may gather of his proceedings in this like case, at his coming to York, I say, he greatly reprehended the Council for that unjust part against Mr. Bowes, saying that by law they did great wrong, and ought not to have condemned him upon the evidence of an infamous person. They storming at this rough check imagined by what means they might give the judges a more shameful mate, and by this opportunity they easily circumvented them. They had taken Mrs. Clitherow a little before, and, not having any evidence against her that she harboured priests, except a little boy, they turned the matter upon the judges, earnestly labouring them to execute more shameful judgment against her by the evidence of this boy than they themselves had done before against Mr. Bowes, by the testimony of one infamous man. Thus was this circumvention diligently contrived by the Council, intending by greater wickedness in the judges to justify their own also shameful enough; and after they had brought this to pass in the judges, then said Meares, "Well, now, the judges' hands are as far in as ours; I think now they will reprove us no more." Thus they played with Catholics, not regarding what mischief they did, so they might thereby win credit and cover their foul dealings. . . .

Hath not God turned everything in this your horrible murther, to the most honour of His saint? Behold the very time of her martyrdom witnessed your impious fact. You chose the 25th of March, wherein all true Christians celebrate with great solemnity the most gracious Annunciation of our Blessed Lady, the Mother of God. Was not this the first day of the creation of the world, as most of yourselves hold opinion? Was not this day man formed and endued with life, as many think? Was not this day the heavenly message of grace sent to ungracious mankind, and the Son of God Incarnate in the Sacred Virgin's womb, as the whole Church of Christ confesseth? Was

not man's redemption finished by Christ upon the Cross this same day, as many judge? Was not this day, as it were, the midst of the time called in Christ's Church *Tempus Passionis?* Nay, was it not Friday also wherein all Christendom celebrateth the memory of Christ's death and piteously lamenteth His pains suffered this day, for our offences? . . .

But now, O sacred martyr, letting go thy enemies, I turn to thee. Remember me, I beseech thy perfect charity, whom thou hast left miserable behind thee, in times past thine unworthy Father, and now thy most unworthy servant, made ever joyful by thy virtuous life, and comfortable by lamenting thy death, lamenting thy absence, and yet rejoicing in thy glory. Behold me wrestling in the multitude of mine imperfections, and bestow, for God's sake, that alms on me, in the exceeding fervour of thy charity, which in this toilsome life so many times, for God's sake, thou humbly didst require of me at the holy altar. I was not so able to help thee as thou art now to procure mercy and grace for me; for thou art now all washed in thy sacred blood from all spots of frailty, securely possessing God Himself; whereas I am yet a woeful wretch, and clothed with impiety, as now thou seest, and not so able to break the loathsome bonds of my own sensuality as I shall be when, by thy gracious intercession, I receive more help. Be not wanting, therefore, my glorious mother, in the perfection of thy charity, which was not little towards me in thy mortality, to obtain mercy and procure the plenties of such graces for me, thy miserable son, as thou knowest to be most needful for me, and acceptable in the sight of our Lord, which hath thus glorified thee; that I may honour Him by imitation of thy happy life, and by any death, which He will give me, to be partaker with thee and all holy saints of His kingdom, to whom be all glory and honour, now and for ever. Amen.

VI.

FATHER POLLARD'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE YORKSHIRE MISSION.

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POLLARD is the name by which Father James Sharpe was known on the mission. He was a priest in Yorkshire for three years before he crossed over into Belgium to enter the Society, and the following recollections were written by him, during his stay as a novice at St. John's, Louvain. He was sent back to England after he had taken his scholastic vows, returning to Yorkshire, his native county. His anxiety for his parents' conversion led him to fall into a trap that they laid for him. He remained for some time a prisoner in their house, and in a letter[1] to the General, Father Aquaviva, he recounts the efforts made by them to shake his constancy and his own attempts to escape. At last, hearing that a new proclamation had been issued for the banishment of priests, when challenged to a disputation he asked to see the proclamation, and acknowledging himself to be a priest, he was sent to York to the Council of the North. The President kept him seven weeks, during which time at his parents' request he was committed to private custody, lest he should be confirmed in the faith by meeting other priests in prison. A Catholic who tried to get access to him in his father's house in the disguise of a beggar was caught and sent to gaol at York, where he still was when Father Sharpe wrote his letter. Another Catholic, when he was in custody in York, in order to escape suspicion, visited him in company with a Protestant minister. His mother who never left his room from morning till night, invited the minister to dispute with her son: so he began by expressing his surprise how Father Sharpe could leave the religion of his country for a religion of which neither he nor others knew anything. "Not know anything

[1] More, *Historia Prov. Angl.* p. 359.

of the Catholic religion, when it is your business to refute it! Away with you!" said his keeper to the minister.

His parents, hoped that the decree of banishment might not be carried out in his case, but they could not obtain this exemption unless he would go to church. This he refused to do unless he might be allowed to speak from the pulpit. He was accordingly banished. By that time an English house of theological studies was added to the novitiate of Louvain. It was opened in 1612; and when the novices were removed to Liége, in 1614, the College remained at St. John's, Louvain, for four years. During some part of this time Father James Sharpe was Professor of Scripture and of Hebrew. He made his solemn profession of the four vows May 12, 1622, probably after his return to the English mission; and in the year he died he published a book in *quarto* called, *The Examination of the Private Spirit in Protestants.* His death took place November 11, 1630, in the Residence of St. Dominic, as Lincolnshire was called in the Society. He was then 54 years of age, and the *Summaria Defunctorum* says that he had been 23 years in Religion, which must be an over-estimate, as he says himself that he was in England in 1609.

The manuscript with which we bring to a close our series of narratives of persecution in the North, is at Stonyhurst College, —n. 100 in vol. iii. of the collection *Angl. A.* Considerable portions of it have been published by Canon Tierney, in his edition of Dodd's *Church History* vol. iv. p. 160.

FATHER POLLARD'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE YORKSHIRE MISSION.

From the original manuscript[1] at Stonyhurst College.

Very Reverend and good Father,

Pax Christi.

Being enjoined partly by your Reverence's letter of the 25th September, and partly by my Superior's command at the same time, either of which was sufficient to oblige me to performance, to make relation of such particular vexations and persecutions as to my knowledge had happened to the Catholics in those parts where I lived and conversed in England, to wit, in Yorkshire about York, though before I had at large performed the same out of England a year ago, and that at large, with all circumstances of place, time, and persons, yet seeing that letter, as I afterwards learned, never passed England, I will to my power, though not in such exact manner as then I did, relate such as yet occur to my memory, being ready, if so it be thought good, to procure out of England the same and many more in more exact manner, which not only in that time in other parts adjoining, but also since, I doubt not, have, and at this present do, in most lamentable manner happen among the Catholics of those parts.

[1] Endorsed "Annals of F. Polla[rd]. Divers examples of cruelty and persecution in England, especially about York, and of the constancy of Catholics in time of King James, 1610, 14 Octob."

First I will begin with a gentlewoman known to myself, by name Mrs. Thorpe,[1] a woman of good birth and place both by herself and her husband, allied to the best gentlemen of the country, and in her husband's days one of the best housekeepers in those parts. She, after her husband's death, lost her jointure, house, and all she had, and at the length came to that misery and want, being now of good years, that she, not having a house to dwell in, nor money to release her, was forced to come to the manor house of which she had been before mistress, but was now by her son, who was fled into Ireland, let to a stranger, and there to lie in an outhouse, where she had neither bed, meat, nor drink, but such as those who had been before her poor tenants brought, some bringing her bread, some drink, some pottage, and others lending her bed-clothes, and other necessaries; and among the rest a Protestant gentleman in compassion gave her a cow, which she herself milked, and so for a good time remained, till at length she was provided of a better house, to wit, York Castle, to which she was sent, and there for certain years remained.

About a year ago, in Lent, this happened unto a tanner and his wife, by name Rawson,[2] who though they had compounded with the King, and agreed for the two parts of their lands and goods, yet had they by officers designed and sent from those of the High Commission of York their goods driven and taken away three several times in one Lent, every time taking all they find about the house, were it his own goods or his neighbour's they cared not. The last time of all, which was in the Holy Week, finding nothing about the house, they entered the house by force, took first thē wife, and did so beat her

[1] Frances, second wife of Robert Thorpe of Welwick Thorpe, who was a widow April 20, 1608. Peacock's *Yorkshire Papists*, p. 124.

[2] William Rawson was a tanner at Sheffield in the reign of Edward VI. His great grandson William is probably the person mentioned here. In later life he was of Walkley. Peacock, p. 9.

about the face that one side of her face was (as myself can witness, for three days after I did see her, talk with her, and from her own mouth write the relation of all that happened) as black as any coal, so that at the first one would have thought it to be some natural deformity of the one side of her face. Besides this they threw her down on the ground, set their foot upon her, in which manner one kept her all the while the rest ransacked the house. In the meantime, others took her husband, bound his hands behind him, drew out his own dagger, and with it did so beat him about the head, that all his face and body was covered with blood; and in this sort left him lying on the ground while they ransacked the house, insomuch that the minister of the town coming and finding both the man and his wife lying in that pitiful manner, began to reprehend and cry out upon the fellows for that barbarous and cruel usage of them. But they replied all was too little for such traitors against God and their Prince, and did not forbear the minister, but accused him for taking their part, and threatened to complain of him to the High Commission at York. The man himself, being unbound by the minister, went to the next justice of peace, to make complaint of his hard and cruel usage, but before he came to the house, which was not far off, for faintness and want of blood, which he had shed in great abundance, he fell down, and was carried to the justice his house. The matter seemed in the eyes of the justices of the country so odious that they took information of the whole matter, and gave public testimony of all that had proceeded, and counselled the wife that she (for her husband was not able) should go to London, and there make complaint and seek redress, which she did, preferring a petition to the Lord Chief Baron and the rest of the Barons of the Exchequer; but all in vain, for she had neither restitution of their goods nor a satisfaction for the wrongs, but having spent her money, returned more sorrowful than she went.

Another there happened the last year no less memorable than the former, not far from Thirsk, to an old gentlewoman,[1] great aunt as they said to the Lord Scrope, and of no mean parentage or descent, of which, though many circumstances I do not remember, yet what I can call to mind I will relate. There came unto her two pursuivants, one by name Marr, who was a notable villain, and presently after hanged for killing most basely a gentleman as he was alighting from his horse, and had at that present a commission to apprehend any recusant gentlewoman of what seat or place soever she were, and to send her to prison. This Marr, with his companion, came to the gentlewoman's house. Her name I take to be, though I am not certain of it, Mrs. Pudsey. They drew her out of her house, and the one taking her by the one arm, the other by the other arm, they hauled her along, for she was so weak and old that she could not go, in that manner betwixt them to the next village. Then they took a barrow, such a one as they carry dung upon, and set her upon it, and caused the people of the town, charging them in the King's name, as the custom is, to carry her in that manner to the next market town, Thirsk, as I take it, where they set up[on] her in an inn, used not only such indecent speeches as with decency cannot be repeated, calling her old drab, old quean, old witch, with many far worse, but also such uncivil and inhuman actions about her that a gentleman, though a stranger in the inn, seeing them, could not with patience behold them, but would needs have beaten the pursuivants if by others he had not been holden. There were in the usage many more circumstances which did so aggravate the matter, that particular relation of it was taken by her friends, and complaint made to the Council at London. Which when my Lord Treasurer that now is heard and read, he could

[1] Thomas Pudsey of Barforth, co. York, married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Scrope of Bolton.

not with patience read it out, but caused the pursuivants presently to be sent for up to London, where he would have exemplarily punished them for their indecent usage of the gentlewoman, if in the meantime they had not killed the gentleman I spoke of, for which they were both laid in prison at York, and the next assize hanged.

Not far from York, in Bubwith parish, dwelt one John Barker,[2] a yeoman of good estate of a pretty land. This man had compounded with the King, and paid unto him two parts of his living, having only the third part left to maintain himself, his wife and children, together with his old father and mother who lived with him, yet notwithstanding the officers of the sheriff and other pursuivants did in one year drive away all his goods and cattle which he had three several times, and the last time came and took all the goods and cattle which were in his grounds, were they his own or others they respect not, so they find them on his ground. Next, all the hay and corn in his barns, with wood and other goods about the house, they prize and set a sale to whosoever will buy them, and that at almost the half of the worth of them, thereby to allure the neighbours to buy them, and in like manner all the goods in the house, seeking likewise for the man himself, whom they would have had in person and committed to prison. The good man, seeing no redress, got out to one of his neighbours and friends and entreated him to buy in his own name all the goods and cattle about the house, for to the man himself, or to any other for him, they would in no case sell them. The neighbour did so, and bought all the goods as for himself, and paying the money, took them as his own, and afterwards, in private, let the owner have them again

[1] In the Recusants' returns for 1604 Richard Barker, Anne his wife, Jane Barker, John Barker the elder, John Barker the younger, and Elizabeth his wife, are returned as recusants for divers years. John Barker is also returned for a secret marriage and a secret baptism. Peacock, p. 134.

at the same price under the worth as he bought. This good man, thus used, presently after came to the place where I was, related unto me all the manner of proceeding against him, and lamenting his case, told us that he did not know what to do with his ground and land, for to till it or stock it himself, beside that his goods and corn would be taken from him, he was not able, as having been so charged with buying again his own goods; and to let it to others he could not, for no man would take it of him, though they might have it for nothing, because they were sure to lose the goods and cattle they put upon it, or the corn they did sow in it. The same man had not long after his goods taken out of his house by the churchwardens, his own neighbours, by the direction and command of a neighbour Justice of the Peace, one Sir William Hillyarde,[1] who upon his own malice, contrary to all order of law (for which an order was granted afterwards by the Lord Chief Baron out of the Exchequer to the said John Barker, and in him to all the rest of the north against the said proceedings) caused all churchwardens to exact of every recusant 12*d.* for every week's absence from the church, and if they would not pay it he gave them warning, and charged them to enter the house and take any goods they could find, and carry them into the church, and keep them in the vestry or sacristy, which for fear the poor men did so exactly perform that they had almost filled the vestry with pots, pans, and pewter, and such household stuff. Among the rest this John Barker had his taken, and there amongst the rest laid up until the next assize. He preferred a petition to the judges for redress, the one of which was Baron Altham,[2] who was the Chief Judge, affirmed that he was wronged, for that the statute of 12*d.* a Sunday was made against vagabonds

[1] Sir William Hildyard was son of William Hildyard, Recorder of York, fourth son of Martin Hildyard of Winestead.

[2] Sir James Altham, Baron of the Exchequer in 1607, died in 1616.

and rogues, who upon the Sunday live in the alehouse, and that before any laws were made against recusants, and therefore could not in reason be extended against recusants, who were by other laws punished made directly against them. But the other judge, Sir Edward Phillips,[1] a man malicious against recusants, and audacious in any matter, as being the Speaker of the Parliament, not only contradicted the other judge, though the chiefer in place, but also commended the justice for doing that he had done, and besides that, gave in charge to all other justices in the shire to do the like, which for a time was severely executed, until by the means of the other judge a plain order against it was procured from the Barons of the Exchequer. In which time many poor people thereabout by the foresaid justice and knight, Sir William Hillyarde, were most pitifully used. Some in whose houses they could find nothing were sent to prison, and of them two or three for no more but 4*s*. Others had their clothes taken from their beds, and the pots and pans out of their house. One poor woman had spun and wrought a little cloth to clothe her poor children against the winter, and had it taken away. Another had the coverlets and blankets taken from her bed; and another her pots and pans and pewter from her house. Another was forced to remove all her goods; and to save herself, both she and her daughter, having a little child in her arms, were forced to put themselves in beggar's attire, and so to go up and down begging. All these in particular I knew, and among them one poor man, who had nothing but what he got by alms by going from door to door among his neighbours, was in his poor cottage assaulted, and having a little milk in a pan on the fire, was forced to leave it and hide himself. They, finding little else in the house worth

[1] Sir Edward Phelips opened the indictment against Guy Fawkes; elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1604; Master of the Rolls in 1611; died in 1614.

taking, poured the milk into the fire, and took away the poor man's pan. The poor man, having little or nothing in the house, and not daring to go abroad as he was wont to do, for fear of being taken to prison, was almost famished in his house. All these happened hard by the place where I lived.

Another poor woman there was upon York wolds whom I knew well, but her name I have forgot, though I have rid[den] thirty miles only to help her and her daughter, besides whom there were no more Catholics in those parts. This poor woman, being known to be a Catholic, was by the ministers, together with some other justices, sent for to a market town; and when she was thrice brought before them, and found to be old and simple, and to have no goods, was not thought fit or worthy to be sent to prison, for they said she should be maintained, but was sent to market place, there to be shown as a monster, or an owl in the daytime, and of all to be derided and scorned, the people and boys hissing and crying out, "A Papist! a Papist!" after which (escaping whipping, because she was old) she was set in the stocks, and there remained the most part of the day, and so was dismissed because of her poverty and simplicity.

There dwelled in Lincolnshire two women, the one married and the other unmarried, the one having her kinsman, the other her father, prisoners in York for their religion, went to visit them. As soon as they were entered the prison, search came to know what and who they were, and being found both of them to be Catholics, were carried before the mayor, who with his wise company offered them presently the oath of allegiance as they call it, which when they refused, as not knowing what it meant, they were committed to the prison to which they came. The one escaped, to wit the married woman, but the maid remained, and at the assize was brought before Sir Edward Phillips,

the judge, who coming to the hall for the City [trials] after dinner well tippled, as it was observed, called the poor maid before him, and in most shameless manner reviled her, calling her all the lewd names of drab, quean, &c., which he could devise, asked the aldermen if he should not hang her, and at length condemned her in the *præmunire*, and committed her to perpetual imprisonment, where as yet she remains, and so is like to continue. Other poor women there were taken only coming to the Castle, and found to be Catholics, were sent in among them, and there kept. In this prison of York, which of all prisons in England hath been and is most renowned for number of famous confessors and glorious martyrs, there were at one time a twelvemonth ago no fewer than fifty prisoners, of which almost thirty were condemned of the *præmunire* for the oath or also to death. Of these prisoners there were some who when they were condemned for denying the oath, though before they did lie in prison and all their goods taken presently from them, and among them one having nothing in prison of his own but his bed, they took that away from him and left him to lie on the ground. The necessities of these prisoners and their wants in prison hath often been so great, and no longer ago than the last Lent, that they living all in common at a common table of that which in charity is sent unto them, they had no more but every man according to the rate of a penny a day, 7*d.* a week, of which allowance a good time together, as they writ to London, they were forced to live. Their ordinary allowance when they were at the best is but 14*d.* a week for every person, and yet at this rate, together with fees and bribes to the gaolers, they spent 5*l.* every week among them. We who lived nigh to them have been much troubled to get them relief, and our own shire having not been able to relieve them since it hath been more oppressed than almost all the shires in England; besides, as after I will more declare, we laboured often

and very earnestly for some relief from London and from the south, but it hath been so little and we so wearied with asking it, that it hath scarce been worth the labour; but if there be no better order taken for their relief, now especially when upon these new laws and executions the number of them is like daily to increase, I do assure myself that shortly you shall hear they will be ready to famish for want of meat. It would be well if some order could be taken for their relief in time.[1]

One thing there is which here, by the way, I cannot but give notice of, to wit, as concerning Mr. Mole who is in the inquisition at Rome, there is great expectation at York, because he was a York man, one well esteemed of among them, what shall become of him. It is thought that if at Rome they proceed against him to put him to death, it will much not only alienate the commiseration which many and most gentlemen have there of Catholics' endurance for their religion, but will also cause a very stormy tempest among all the Catholics, especially in those countries, seeing they will allege that it is no marvel nor yet cruelty in them to punish Papists their own subjects with loss of goods and liberty, since at Rome they punish Protestants, though but strangers and passengers among them, and that with fire and fagot. This will be a swetstone to set those who are evil disposed on, and seem to many a specious pretence to colour their rigour and cruelty. When I was prisoner at York it was objected to me before the Council how that of late they had

[1] An unsigned fragment of a letter at Stonyhurst (*Angl. A*, vol. iv. n. 51), dated April 14, 1618, says—"We are all here in very great persecution. All the poor prisoners are in the low gaol in irons and barred of their friends' relief, to force them to pay 2*d.* the night for bedrooms, and to take their diet of the gaoler; and they are so many that the alms will not relieve them. I stand for them all I can, and got an order the last Assizes for their relief of the Judges, but the gaoler will not obey it; and for this and other things done for them I must be committed again to the Castle with them the next week."

burned at Rome one not a Roman, and we could not complain if here they did prison us who were subject to the King's laws. One spectacle of cruelty committed at York at the death of the last priest that died there two years ago, to wit, Mr. Flathers,[1] did move many to commiseration of us and our cause. The manner was thus. They cut him down before he was half dead, in so much that although he was on the ground he rose upon his hands and feet, and offering to stand up straight was by officers with halberds struck upon the head and so beat down to the ground in such a cruel manner that all who beheld it were much moved at it. All acts of cruelty are much among the common people and gentlemen detested, insomuch that one of the Council of York told me that if it lay in his power there should be no more blood shed for religion.

But to return again to the practice against Catholics in Yorkshire, that the better may be perceived what and how much the Catholics of those parts have hitherto suffered, and as yet do suffer, and how impossible it is to escape them and their violence against us, it may be noted how many means they have to discover and punish all Catholics, and how diligently every one of them is put in execution and practice. First, therefore, they have the President and the Council resident at York, of which although divers gentlemen of the country be Councillors, yet they who are the chief agents in all matters are five lawyers, all of them strangers and men of base condition, gaping only after gain and lucre. These every one of them have it in their power to call at their pleasure any Catholic, and to punish him with imprisonment, or other way as they please. They have their pursuivant, with three men, daily to range abroad about such employments, and to send for whom they please, and to punish them at their pleasure.

[1] Matthew Flathers, *alias* Major, suffered at York, March 21, $160\frac{7}{8}$.

The second is the Bishop and the High Commission, of which, though there be some gentlemen, yet the chief doers of all are a company of hungry and malicious ministers. These keep every three weeks or month their Courts, and have authority, any three of them, to send for any recusant, to offer him the oath, to lay him in prison, and to use him as they will. They have their pursuivant also, who, together with an under agent, do never rest, but against every court-day do summon Catholics to their appearance. Their manner of proceeding is in this manner. They send out process to serve upon any Catholic whom they will have to appear. The messenger, if he cannot find the party, doth either fix the process upon the gentleman's door, or give it to the curate, to be read against the party publicly upon the Sunday in the church. If the party do appear, it is rare if he escape the tendering of the oath; if he do not appear, they set a fine upon his head, to some 50*l.*, to some 100*l.*, for every time they do not appear. These fines are presently certified up to the Exchequer, from which a writ is granted to seize upon the party's lands or goods to the value of the sum which he is fined. Upon this are sent out officers to the gentleman's land, to take what goods soever they find upon it, not respecting whose goods they be, whether the gentleman's own or his tenant's, or some other person's in whose immediate hand and use the land is; whether in the lord's or in the tenant's, it suffices them that it is the gentleman's land. There they will take, for a fine of 100*l.*, goods worth 200*l.*, and cause it to be [ap]prized and sold at the next town, at the half worth; neither dare the gentleman appear, either to rescue his goods, or to make his complaint where he is wronged; yea, often all is done before any notice of it can come unto him. Thus they continued for the last four or five years past, monthly fining for not appearance, and so consequently driving goods for fines. By this

many have been brought to that case, that they neither durst keep stock upon their own grounds, nor yet could let it out to others. Some have been forced to flee the country and live in another shire without the limits of the commission; some have had their goods driven again and again, and that without all order of law or show of right, only by the mere villany of the officers; for which, if they sued to have them again they might, but with such charge that they had as good lost the goods themselves.

Of these, among the rest, I knew five or six yeomen who were forced to fly the country and to live in Lincolnshire, having almost nothing left before they went; and among divers gentlemen two knights, the father and the son, Sir Ralph and William Babthorpe, at length were forced to fly, both themselves and their families. First the son, Sir William Babthorpe, was fined some 400*l.* or 500*l.* for not appearing and because they could get none of his goods, because all went under his father's name, they so pursued his person that he was glad to live in Lincolnshire, and there remained for two or three years. The father, Sir Ralph, being a gentleman not only so well beloved in his country for bountiful and good disposition that he had not so much as one enemy to oppose against him, but being also a gentleman of a very ancient house nigh allied in consanguinity to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Rutland, and whose father had been the only potent man for credit and authority in those countries, was so sore pursued by the base ministers of this High Commission, who every month sent out process in most disgraceful and odious terms against him, to be publicly read in his own parish church, and after reading to be fixed upon the church doors, that after he had for the space of a twelvemonth escaped the fines by this art, to wit, by flying out of the country from the day of the writ read in the church (of which

by friends he got notice before) until the court day was past, at which court day he had one ready to take his oath that he was not in the country (as, indeed, he was not) from the day of the writ read until that present court day, and so could not be fined. After I say that by this art he had escaped a year and more, being at the length wearied with it, was forced to remove his whole family into Lincolnshire, and there to live. And all this he suffered after that he had paid two parts of his living to the King and compounded for it. His son-in-law also, Sir George Palmes,[1] one of as ancient an house and as well allied in affinity as any gentleman in the country, did at the first lie in prison and afterwards upon bond released, and afterwards urged to return again to prison, was forced to forfeit and pay his bond and to keep himself from them to live privately, so that for the space of three years he durst not be seen in his father's house, or be known to be there; for because he had no goods, his father alive, and no Catholic, they sought only for his person to imprison him. These be, among many, some examples of the practice of this High Commission, which is but the second means they have to punish poor Catholics withal.

The third is the Sheriff and his officers who, upon the least occasion, if they find the least thing against any Catholic, are ready to arrest their persons, to drive away their goods, and to use all disgrace they can against them. Of these, among many, we had an example of an old gentleman who, for his ancient family, was counted the chief in the country, his ancestors, together with the Percys, having been the builders of York Minster, and

[1] Sir George Palmes married Catherine, daughter of Sir Ralph Babthorpe. They were presented in 1604 in these terms. "The said George Palmes, knight, and Lady Catherine his wife, have been called by way of citations into the Consistory Court at York to prove their marriage, vehemently suspected to have been married by some Popish priest, but how it is it is not known, and they are presented to have been secretly married." Peacock, p. 141.

himself the only great and bountiful housekeeper of the North, Mr. Vavasour,[1] the chief of that name, who is now of late dead,—God rest his soul. This gentleman being sent for at the assizes, to appear before the judge, and by reason of his age and weakness alleging not ability, was sent for by the Sheriff, with command to take him by force, and to bring him to the judge. The under-sheriff came with a multitude of men, partly of his own, partly of the gentleman's tenants, and by violence, with all disgrace, brought the venerable old gentleman to the bar before the judges, where, after many disgraceful terms, they offered him the oath before all the gentlemen his friends and kinsmen of the country. And these three, to wit, the Council, the High Commission, and the Sheriff, are always ready in any service against the Catholics, their countrymen and neighbours.

Besides these three, which are ordinary and continual, there were at one time many other extraordinary pursuivants ranging up and down the country, and every one making a prey of Catholics and their goods. One was, and is yet, one Searle, who hath authority from the Council at London to levy up all fines set upon any recusant's head, by the same manner of taking of goods as before I related. Another was that Marr, of whom I spoke before, who had a particular commission for all recusant gentlewomen, to apprehend and carry them to prison, and did execute it upon all where he could not make otherwise a commodity for himself, as by the example of the gentlewoman before may appear. By him were many and most rude and barbarous actions committed, of which I have heard many, but because partly I have

[1] William Vavasour, as he is called by Betham, Walter according to Dugdale, succeeded his uncle John in the Hazlewood estate. He married Anne, grand-daughter of Thomas, Earl of Rutland. His son, Sir Thomas, was created a baronet in 1628. He had thirteen children, of whom Henry became a priest, John a Jesuit lay-brother, Francis a Franciscan, Mary a nun at Brussels, and Margaret and Catherine nuns at Cambray.

forgotten the particulars of them, and partly for that I have no certainty of them, I omit them at this present until I hear further and more certain relation of them.

The third was one who came with an outlawry against all the Catholics of the country, whose name I have forgotten. This villain had counterfeited a licence and warrant from the Council at London, under pretence of gathering I know not how many thousand pounds for my Lord of Mungummorie [Montgomery],[1] and showing an outlawry against all recusants, proceeded so far before he was discovered, that he had agreed with many for sums of money and got it, had laid others in prison, and seized upon all their goods, as by name one Mr. Persie [Percy], and molested the country and got a good sum of money, and at last ran away, but took all he had got with him; but the gentlemen recovered nothing again.

Besides these three was one Heaton, who, for the two parts of lands and all recusants' goods who had not compounded with the King, made such havoc in the country that for a year or two he almost left no Catholic any goods, till at the length, for his disorder and cozening the King of that which he got, was put out of office, and now, for his pains, lies in prison.

Besides all these were granted to the Lord Sheffield 1,000*l.*, to be levied out of the recusants' goods, but he did deal honourably, and though he be President, would rather lose it than with such violence gather it. Another sum of 6,000*l.* was granted to one Loristone, a great Scot, to be levied out of the same recusants' goods. This was a-doing when I came out of England. Another sum of I know not how much was granted to the King's pages, which the Bishop of Bristow,[2] who is Dean of York, gathering for the

[1] Philip Herbert, second son of Henry, Earl of Pembroke, created Earl of Montgomery in 1605; died in 1652.

[2] John Thornborough, translated July 12, 1603, from Limerick to Bristol, and thence to Worcester, Feb. 17, 1616.

pages with whom he agreed, used such violence and cruelty that his officers exceeded all the rest, for it was they who used the tanner and his wife in that sort as before I spoke.

All these means and practices were used, and with all rigour and severity executed against Catholics in the time of three years which I lived in England, all of them in the country where I lived, and many of them upon the Catholics whom I knew and had for my ghostly children, until at the end, they being ashamed of so many barbarous usages as were committed in those proceedings, and many of the chiefest Catholics having even with sums of money wrought a little ease, they began at the length to be more moderate, especially since that of the chief instruments and agents of these rapines, one of them lies in prison, two of them were hanged, and the fourth, as the greatest in authority, so the most malicious in practice, Sir Stephen Proctour, a knight, but a man basely descended, and by frauds, cozenage, and violence become so great and potent that he was made Justice of Peace in all shires of England, and had licence from the King to take the forfeiture of all penal statutes throughout England. These his villanies against Catholics were inflicted also against all other sorts of people in the commonwealth, for which he is by the general voice of the Parliament degraded of his knighthood, deprived of the name of a gentleman, deposed from all place and office in the commonwealth and from all testimony or witness in any cause whatsoever, his lands and goods made subject to all who could challenge him of any wrong done to them, and his body committed to prison during the King's pleasure.

This hath been the practice of Yorkshire since my coming amongst them, for of the things which happened before my coming, which were many and notable, I omit

them, as the carrying by violence all the Catholic prisoners[1] at York to hear sermons, and holding their hands that they should not stop their ears, at which some cried, some shouted, others stood up and told the preacher where he erred or lied. I omit all the rigour and severity which the President Huntingdon used among Catholics, how he ransacked their houses and drove them to lie in woods and caves, and how many and for what and how small cause he executed and hanged. I shall, if it be thought good, get a relation of some of them in particular, especially how he imprisoned all the gentlewomen and ladies in the countries, some in one castle, some in another, and especially how in Sheriff Hutton Castle were enclosed my Lady Constable, my Lady Babthorpe,

[1] The names of those "hauled to sermons" in York Castle in 1600 are thus given by W. Richmont, the priest who wrote the account preserved among the Stonyhurst manuscripts—

"Sir Christopher Wharton, priest; condemned for being made priest beyond seas; hanged, drawn, and quartered, the 28th March, 1600.

"Sir George Raynes, an old Queen Mary priest.

"Mistress Ann Tesh, condemned of high treason, with six others, for persuading a minister to be a Catholic.

"Mrs. Bridget Maskew, condemned of treason for the same.

"Eleanor Hunt, widow, condemned of felony for harbouring the forenamed Mr. Wharton.

"William Midleton, of Stockeld, Esquire.

"William Stillington, of Kellfeild, Esquire.

"Richard Danbie, of Cave, Esquire.

"Richard Fenton, of Burwallice, Esquire.

"Thomas Gelstroppe, of Barrowbie, gent.

"Michael Gennyson, of ——— gent.

"James Rosse, late of Igmanthorpe, gent.

"William Gascoigne, of Thorpe, gent.

"Robert Halliley, of Biggin, yeoman.

"Thomas Clitheroe, of York, draper.

"John Thackwrey, of Ripon, yeoman.

"John Freeman, of Menthorpe, yeoman.

"Simon Ridley, of Ugthorpe, yeoman.

"Richard Durham, of Cliffe, weaver.

"Thomas Hewitt, of Cliffe, tailor.

"Thomas Whelehouse, of Lincroft, tailor.

"Cuthbert Bailes, of ——— yeoman.

"Ralph Slinger, of ——— yeoman.

"Launcelot Bayles, of ——— yeoman.

"Richard Taileforth, of ——— yeoman.

my Lady Ingleby, my Lady Lawson, Mrs. Metham and Mrs. Hungate, how they were locked up every one in a several vast great chamber, not one permitted to see or speak with another, nor to have a maid of their own, but such as was put unto them; how their husbands were not permitted to come to them, but with what suit and difficulty; how that one of them travailing with child was not permitted to have the company of the rest either before or after her travail, but only for the time present when she called; what shifts the poor gentlewomen used to get one to another, what devices they had to get to open locks, to break windows, and to make passages, not only one to another, but for a priest also to come to them, are very memorable and worth the collect-

"Richard White, of ——— yeoman.
"John Kaye, of Ugthorpe, yeoman.
"Robert Harbottle, Ugthorpe, yeoman.
"Bennett Crathorne, of Hovingham, yeoman.
"Jerome Bolton, of ——— glover.
"Peter Tunstede, of ——— tailor.
"Edward Morecroft, of ——— yeoman.
"John Tailor, of ——— labourer.
"Edward Sawkeld, of ——— yeoman.
"Barnard Stafford, of Millforth, painter.
"Richard Jackson, of Millforth.
"George Sawkeld, an intelligencer set in to deceive.

"WOMEN.

"Mistress Catharine Radcliffe, of Ugthorpe.
"Mistress Catharine Dutton, of Dawbye.
"Mrs. Anne Warcoppe, of Gatenby.
"Mistress Anne Waite, widow.
"Mistress Margaret Allotte.
"Margaret Silvester.
"Elizabeth Hall.
"Margaret Tailor.
"Jane Bradeshawe.
"Isabel Tailor.
"Margaret Storie.
"Mary Hemsworth.
"Margaret Spenley.
"Anne Watson.
"Elizabeth Bailes.
"Anne Hardestey.
"Jane Storie."

ing; all which, if it be thought good, I can in particular, by some of the parties themselves, have related.[1]

I omit likewise as ordinary the taking of priests by searches in gentlemen's houses, and to what troubles they have been brought with whom they have been taken, as namely, Mr. Chumley [Cholmeley],[2] who, being betrayed by his own servants, had two priests taken in his house, and being begged by a nobleman, the Lord of Montgomery,

[1] Probably Father Pollard induced Lady Babthorpe to write her Recollections. See *Troubles*, First Series, p. 240.

[2] "Richard Cholmeley, of Brandesby, Esq., married Mary, daughter of William Hungate of Saxton. It was his marriage by a priest that his servants betrayed. In 1604 presentment was made of his "secret marriage" in these terms. "Richard Cholmeley, Esquire, married with Mary Hungate in the presence of John Wilson [? Nelson], William Martin, Hugh Hope, and Christopher Danyell, in a fell with a Popish priest, as they hear." Peacock, p. 121.

We are indebted to Canon Raine for the following deposition of one of the servants, taken from the records of the Dean and Chapter of York. The date is March 1, 160$\frac{3}{4}$. "John Nelson, of Stevesby parish, Brandesby, *æt. circ.* 23, saith that in January last past was twelvemonths, Richard Cholmeley, Esq., and Mary Cholmeley, *alias* Hungate, now his wife, were married together in a close in Saxton parish, about ten of the clock in the night, by the ministry of one Francis Smith, clerk (for so he affirmed himself to be), which Francis has a book like to a Communion book, and there, by light of a candle in a lantern, read the words of marriage therein contained and used at other marriages, as thus, 'Here I Richard take thee Mary to my wedded wife' (and so forth), and he the said Richard saying after him, the hands of the said Richard and Mary being joined together, and then again saying out of the same book, 'Here I Mary,' etc. At which marriage the ring was used as at other marriages. And after the marriage thus finished, the said Richard and Mary went to Saxton to Mr. Hungate his house, where they lay together that night, and where for the most part ever since, and sometimes at Brandesby, they have lived, and live together as man and wife, and so are commonly accounted. This examinate was present at the marriage and heard and saw the same so solemnized, and then was, and yet is, servant in house to the said Mr. Richard Cholmeley, which marriage, he saith, was solemnized by consent of the parents of the said Mary as he thinketh, for that her parents did presently after (from that night) entertain them. And the said Richard Cholmeley, Esq., at the time of his said marriage, was about thirty years old or rather more, and the said Mary about twenty. It is commonly reported that the said Francis Smith was and is a clerk lawfully ordered, and that he was once parson of Crowle, in Lincolnshire."

There were in all four men examined as witnesses, who were all servants of Mr. Cholmeley. Another witness repeats the statement that Francis Smith had been parson of Crowle, and adds that he affirmed himself to be a "priest made in Archbishop's Heath's time."

was forced with the charges of 1,000*l.* and a half [1,500*l.*] to redeem himself. Only I cannot omit some part of the troubles which those Catholics and gentlemen whom before I showed to have fled into Lincolnshire suffered there; for that Council of York and the High Commission seeing that they were got out of their jurisdiction, and that they lived in those parts more quietly than they would have had them to do, made complaint to the justices of those parts, how that their country was a refuge for those who fled away from them, and thereby caused the Justices of Lincolnshire to use all rigour against them; whereupon every year they send a jury of twelve men to all Catholic houses, caused them diligently to search what goods they had in or without their houses, and to set a price upon them and seize upon them, except with money they did presently redeem them. This was diligently executed once every year inso[much] that some had all their cattle, corn and household stuff taken and seized for the King. Others were forced, when they heard of the juries coming, to remove all their goods from about their house and their very household stuff also out of their houses, and hide it in the fields, that when they came they might find nothing of any value in or about their houses. Others had all taken away, and among the rèst one poor man, by name Yonge, who was infirm of a palsy and was not able to go but as one did help him to move his legs forward, nor yet to feed himself but as one did help him, was so ransacked by them that they took away the very pot in which his and his poor children's dinner was a providing, throwing the pottage into the fire, and uncording the bed on which he lay, took from him the bed and bed-stocks.

Many other such like examples there be in those parts which happened in my being among them, for I did much converse in those parts, which because that in particular I cannot relate the circumstances

nor the things precisely I omit; howsoever, by these it may be perceived what is the troubles of our north, what the malice of our magistrates and officers, especially in Yorkshire, who could not be content that those who fled away from them and their jurisdiction should enjoy any quietness or rest in any other place nigh unto them. And if these so great and so many vexations happened only in so short a time as I was among them, to wit, three years, and that in so little a compass as one part of Yorkshire, to wit, the East Riding, in the which the most of them was done, and in the time of a President, to wit, the Lord Sheffield,[1] who was in all things rather favourable than grievous to them, what may be thought to have fallen out then in so many years' persecution and in the time of those presidents who did bend all their wit and forces to vex and molest them, yea, and to root out the very name of Catholic from among them, especially the Earl of Huntington, whose only subtle devices and bloody cruelty used among them for, as I take it, almost twenty years would make a vast volume, if they were or could be wrote?

Notwithstanding all which it is worth the observance to consider how many in number and great in substance and nobility there be in those countries, who either exteriorly profess or at the least interiorly believe the Catholic faith, insomuch as I observed in the East Riding there be scarce three or four Justices of Peace or men of authority in the commonwealth who are men of ancient families and great estate; for all such who are suspected to be backward in religion are barred from all such offices and dignities, and they who are the men of authority, and rule and command, all are new upstarts either of husbandmen or lawyers become justices and chief commonwealth

[1] Edmund, third Lord Sheffield; created Earl of Mulgrave in 1626, died in 1646. His first wife was Ursula, daughter of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt of Kettleby, many of which family were Catholics.

men, who are indeed those who cause the grievousness of the persecution, especially against ancient gentlemen by whose antiquity and nobility they [think] themselves and their baseness to be much disgraced, and therefore intend, if they can, to root out the memory of them, or at the least to keep them in subjection and disgrace among them. The number also of Catholics in these parts is so great, as may appear also by the many and great sums of money granted by the King to divers Scots and pages to be levied out of their goods, that among my friends and acquaintance the most of them, if not all, being gentlemen of good account, I can travel from this side Lincoln to York, and so thirty miles further, which is above eighty miles, and within every six miles come to a Catholic house, and for the most within three miles, all or the most of them gentlemen or gentlewomen's houses of good account, and for all this I will not in all the way go six miles out of the ready and nighest way,—such is the resolution and constancy of the Catholics in those parts, that notwithstanding all these troubles and vexations they have rather increased than decayed. God be praised for it. The number of those who are condemned to perpetual prison and losses of all goods and lands for refusing the late oath, I think is greater in York prison than in all the prisons of England beside. The devotion of those who are out of prison in making their houses common for all priests who come, even with the danger of themselves and their whole estate; the relieving and helping, both corporally and spiritually, the poor Catholics who live among them; the maintaining of priests in their houses, some one, some two, is memorable among them.

In the house where I lived we were continually two priests, one to serve and order the house at home, the other to help those who are abroad, who especially in any sickness or fear of death would continually send to us for help, that they might die in the estate of

God's Church. Our house I might rather count is a religious house than otherwise, for though there lived together in it three knights and their ladies with their families,[1] yet we had all our servants Catholic.[2] On the Sundays we locked up the doors, and all came to Mass, had our sermons, catechisms, and spiritual lessons every Sunday and holy day. On the work days we had for the most part two Masses, and of them the one for the servants at six of the clock in the morning, at which the gentlemen every one of them without fail, and the ladies if they were not sick, would even in the midst of winter of their own accord be present; and the other we had at eight of the clock for those who were absent from the first. In the afternoon at four o'clock we had evensong, and after that matins, at which all the knights and their ladies, except extraordinary occasions did hinder them, would be present and stay at their prayers all the time the priests were at evensong and matins. The most of them used daily some meditation and mental prayer, and all at the least every fourteen days and great feast did confess and communicate; and after supper every night at nine of the clock we had all together Litanies, and so immediately to bed.

This was the ordinary practice of the house where I remained, the chief lady of which house hath ever been a woman of that courage and resolution in religion, and of that holiness of life;[3] and that though in Queen Elizabeth's days, and in the time of the President Huntingdon, both she and her husband (who yet as then was not Catholic) were both laid in prison, she among the rest of the gentlewomen above named, and he with

[1] There can be no doubt that the house here described was Osgodby in the East Riding, the seat of the Babthorpes, and that the knights were Sir Ralph and his son, Sir William, with probably his son-in-law, Sir George Palmes.

[2] The Annual Letters of 1618 say that Sir Ralph had about thirty servants, when speaking of the perfect contentment he showed in his exile and poverty.

[3] Grace, Lady Babthorpe, died a professed nun at St. Monica's, Louvain, Nov. 10, 1623.

other gentlemen for the Queen of Scots; and though he himself upon his release was bound in 4,000*l.* bond to bring all his family, both children and servants, to the church, except only his wife, whom they knew would not come (for to these conditions both he and divers more in those dangerous times were compelled), yet she not only kept her children, every one of them, of which she had eight, from going to the church, but all of them except one she caused to be christened at home by a priest,[1] and not at the church, in which her zeal and piety she so continued that at the length she won her husband to be Catholic, who always ever since hath so most zealously from the end of the Queen's reign continued; and that in such manner that never at any time when in the beginning many gentlemen did take the last oath against the Pope's authority temporal, yet he never was consenting to it, nor was ever charged in his conscience with it:[2] and that not only her husband she thus won to God's Church to the great encouragement and comfort of many, but all her children she so instructed in piety and devotion, being never without two or three priests in house even in the most cruel times, when both she and her husband lay in prison, that all of them, seven being as yet living, remain constant and religious Catholics, whereof three are Catholicly and well married,[3] and four either in religion or in the way at St. Omers for it:[4] of which lady for that she hath

[1] It is said in the Annual Letters for 1618 that the Archbishop of York caused these children to be conditionally rebaptized.

[2] Sir Ralph died of apoplexy while making the Spiritual Exercises at Louvain.

[3] William married Ursula, daughter of William Tyrwhitt of Kettelby, Catherine married Sir George Palmes of Naburne, and Elizabeth married John Constable of Carethorpe.

[4] "One [probably Robert] was a Priest and Benedictine, who suffered imprisonment and other troubles, and two younger [Ralph and Thomas] priests of the Society of Jesus, and her daughter Barbara had been at St. Benedict's at Brussels, but could not go forward for a defect in her throat, so she lived afterwards among the Jesuitrices." *St. Monica's Chronicle.* Barbara became Superioress-General of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and died at Rome in 1654.

been the chief pillar of religion in that country, and as yet so remains, and deserveth as well not only of all priests in general who have at all times been welcome to her and her house in any peril and necessity, but of our Society in particular, to which she hath always been and yet is most devoted as any that I know in England. I could not omit these few among many of her best deserts and duest commendations.

These, Reverend Father, few instances among many which for the shortness of time I could remember and call to mind of that which passed in and about those places where I moved in England, for that small time of three years which I laboured there, I have according to power, as briefly as I could, related unto you, being ready at any time when it shall be thought good to get a more particular relation both of these and many others which happened in or before my time in those and other adjoining places of the north; all which because they are most memorable and worthy of register, for both our English and foreign posterity, that both one and the other may see and glorify God in the noble and heroical combats of their parents and brethren. It is great pity that as hitherto they have done, so hereafter they should remain in the memory only of those who suffered them and for want of some who in particular should be charged with the collecting and relation of them, not be recounted unto foreign and future generations and times, nor registered to God's honour and glory among the memorable acts of the servants of God in His most holy Church.

Louvain, Oct. 14 [1610].

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